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From the Editor's Desk

FUTURE editions of this journal will again carry two features which were once a regular part of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST but which in recent years have appeared in the Bulletin of the Association. The first of these is the New Publications Received section, a listing of all books submitted to the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST for review, whether or not they are subsequently given more detailed examination in these pages. This provides a check list of current publications which many members and many institutions find extremely useful, and which we believe is deserving of the more permanent record implied by publication in the official organ. The second item is the official report of the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Editor as submitted to the Association. We feel that these official documents are also deserving of this more permanent location.

The decision to revert these items to the pages of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST was made recently by the Executive Board of the Association with the full concurrence of the editors of both publications. The considerations already indicated, together with the fact that neither of these items requires particularly speedy publication, led to this decision.

The Bulletin has been placed in the hands of a new editor, as the membership of the Association is by now fully aware, and we wish to take this opportunity to welcome our new editorial colleague, Dr. William L. Thomas, Jr. of the Riverside Campus, University of California. Thomas brings to his task a considerable experience from his years of association with the publications of the Wenner-Gren Foundation. By taking on these duties he relieves the burden of the executive offices of the Association, and in particular somewhat lightens the heavy load of our Executive Secretary and Treasurer, Dr. William S. Godfrey, Jr.

Separation of the News Bulletin from the executive offices is not a new policy, for from time to time the Bulletin has been held under separate editorships and again brought back into the executive offices. On the one hand there is an advantage in the consolidation of activities; on the other there are advantages in the diversification and specification of functions. Since the activities of this Association are characteristically, and we believe appropriately, carried on by working scholars in the field, it seems necessary to disperse the tasks as widely as possible.

The decision with respect to exclusion of certain materials from the Bulletin makes possible a greater emphasis upon those things for which it was primarily initiated. It is our understanding that the original conception of this second publication was to provide a means by which members of the Association might be rapidly informed of important developments in their profession. These developments have to do with such matter as research opportunities, meetings, and similar professional activities, rather than with the intellectual content of our discipline. As our profession grows both in size

and importance, the need for a channel of communication increases. The address of the Bulletin editor will be carried on the inside cover of this journal in the hope that the fellows and members will keep him informed of items which should be called to the attention of their fellows.

E. Adamson Hoebel (Columbia, 1934) is Past President of the American Anthropological Association and Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, where he has been since 1954. His interest in the role of anthropology in American universities and in American society stems in large part from his work as Dean of the University College (Letters and Science), University of Utah. The article which opens this issue is a revised version of the author's presidential address to the Association. In addition, Hoebel is widely known for his work in primitive law and in American Indian ethnology.

Robert F. Spencer (University of California, Berkeley, 1946) is Professessor of Anthropology at the University of Minnesota, where he has taught for the past ten years. The fieldwork on which the present article is based was done in Turkey in 1954 while Spencer was serving as director of the Minnesota SPAN (Student Project for Amity Among Nations) organization. In addition, he has worked among the North Alaskan Eskimo (1952–53), and in Ceylon and Burma (1954).

W. Creighton Gabel (University of Edinburgh, 1957) is Instructor in Anthropology at Northwestern University. His primary interest is in Old World archeology, with particular reference to problems of early postglacial adaptations in hunting and gathering, and the introduction and establishment of agriculture in Europe north of the Alps. The work on which his current article is based was done in Europe from 1954 to 1956.

John J. Gumperz received his Ph.D. in German Linguistics (University of Michigan, 1954), and since 1956 has been Assistant Professor of Hindi at the University of California, Berkeley. He did fieldwork in Saharanpur District, U.P., India, from 1954 to 1956 with the Cornell University research group under the direction of Morris Opler; this work was supported by a Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Fellowship. Gumperz' present field of interest is sociolinguistics, with particular reference to India.

Robert T. Anderson (University of California, Berkeley, 1956) has for the past year been a Postdoctoral Fellow, National Science Foundation Attaché, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique; he is engaged in a field study of the sociology of Ukrainian immigration to France. His present contribution is based upon fieldwork in 1956–57 in the village of Dragor on Amager Island, made possible by a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

The suggestion for a new approach to ethno-esthetics is by Warren L. d'Azevedo, who is Lecturer in Anthropology at the Downtown Center of Northwestern University. His present article derives in part from fieldwork among the Gola of Liberia (1956–57) under a Ford Foundation Fellowship grant; additional research and writing were made possible by grants from the

Program of African Studies at Northwestern University. At an earlier time, d'Azevedo did fieldwork among the Washo of Nevada and California, and is co-author (with Alan P. Merriam) of "Washo Peyote Songs," which appeared in this journal last year.

RAYMOND A. DART (M.D., Sydney, 1926; D.Sc. honoris causa, Natal, 1956) is the 1957 Viking Fund Medalist in physical anthropology. Since 1922 he has been Professor of Anatomy at the University of the Witwatersrand, and he is noted especially for his work on the australopithecinae. The article in this issue is based upon study of the materials from Kalkbank and Makapansgat; the excavations which made possible this long-continued research on *Australopithecus* were supported by a number of foundations both in America and the Union of South Africa. Professor Dart's substantial achievements are reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

PETER DUIGNAN, who is Instructor in History at Stanford University, received his M.A. from that institution in 1953. His article on Jesuit missionary policies derives from his many years of study of Catholic philosophy, theology, and history. Duignan is currently engaged in a study of the history of native policy in the Rhodesias, with the assistance of a Ford Foundation Fellowship.

*Anthropology, Universities, and American Society**

E. ADAMSON HOEBEL
University of Minnesota

THE choice of my subject has been governed by two factors: a qualitative evaluation of American anthropology as a product of the American academic environment that recently came to my attention while sojourning in England; and my own long-range concern, shared by all, with the problems and purposes of American universities. The evaluation expressed the judgment that anthropology in the United States is inferior in quality and destined to deteriorate further because of the nature of our universities and their attendant academic climate. The situation was described as one in which we are forced to dissipate our energies on uneducable hordes of mediocrities, while the impending expansion of our universities and the impending increase in numbers of students will compound the evils which now adulterate our output.

Is this truly to be our destiny?

Nothing is to be gained by debating the superiority or inferiority of American anthropology as against that of any other country, nor the superiority or inferiority of American schools and universities. This is a wholly spurious issue. For as James B. Conant, in discussing "Education in the Western World" in the 100th Anniversary Issue of *The Atlantic*, writes,

> Asking whether European schools are better than schools in the United States is like asking a comparative anatomist whether a whale is a better mammal than an elephant.
>
> The comparative anatomist is interested in examining the similarities and differences to be found in animal or plant organs which carry out the same function; he is very cautious, however, about proclaiming the virtues of a device found in one particular species over a device for similar purpose found in another (Conant 1957:73).

We could narrow Conant's analogy by saying that to ask whether American, British, French, or German anthropology is one better than the other is like asking the comparative anatomist to answer whether a Chesapeake retriever, a mastiff, a poodle, or a dachshund is a better canine than the others. Each type of anthropology is the product of a particular culture, developed to function in a special way in a special total environment. For as Conant has further observed with respect to schools,

> History shows that, except under conditions of duress brought about by external forces, schools and colleges have developed gradually in different parts of the world in response to a variety of different conditions. They are a product of the society they serve and they also influence the future of this society (Conant 1957).

American anthropology can be understood only when seen as an expression

* Delivered as the presidential address at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, Ill., Dec. 29, 1957.

of the American educational system, and to analyze it in terms of that system is good functional anthropology. But as Malinowski insisted a generation ago, and as Evans-Pritchard (1954:ix), reiterating what we now take for granted, recently wrote in his introduction to Cunnison's translation of Mauss' *Essai sur le don*, "understanding is to see social phenomena in their entirety" (1954:ix). In what entirety must American anthropology be seen if it is to be understood? It is more than the American educational system; it is American culture and the society which gives it being, and the aims of that society are particularly significant.

The aims which have major relevance for educational goals are egalitarianism, encompassing full political democracy, economic and social mobility, security of person, and material well-being. As Francis Hsu puts it, the American is individual-oriented. One major proposition is that each individual, whatever his status at birth, shall be provided with the maximum opportunity and shall be aided and encouraged to express his potentialities with the greatest freedom compatible with group existence. Hamilton may have argued in the debates through which the Constitution was wrought that "all communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are rich and well-born and the other the mass of people who seldom judge or determine right." This was not, and as 19th-century events determined, could not be the view that prevailed. Rather, it was the Jeffersonian vision of informed and popular self-determination based upon science and humanistic philosophy which would bring to fruition the talents necessary for democratic leadership by giving to all an opportunity to share in the wisdom offered by science and the arts. We have gone far toward translating the Jeffersonian ideal into social reality. Our free and universal public education has played a major role in the process of welding into one people the native-born and the fifty million immigrants who entered the land. It has produced a reservoir of capable leadership and informed citizenry, even though it has not banished all demagoguery and ignorance. It has successfully fostered social and technological inventiveness, and has contributed to the development of a society in which role achievement predominates over status ascription. This latter fact is reflected in the American anthropological interest in theories of social systems and action, with their emphasis on the concept of culture as behavior, for anthropologists of other countries tend to think in terms of social structure and profess themselves unable to see any point in the culture concept.

To say these things about the contribution of American education to our society is not to express complacency over our educational system. It could be better than it is. Could any public be more exercised over the means and ends of education than the American people are at this moment? All is not as well as it could and should be, but the basic idea is sound. I agree with the president of my own university, James L. Morrill, when he writes (1956:110) "It is no accident that this revolutionary concept of the 'good life' for the masses of the people has been realized in a time following the introduction of

the revolutionary concept of unlimited educational opportunity for the many instead of the few." If this is true, then even if American anthropology should suffer because in our universities we try to do too much with too many, American society assuredly has not suffered. If this were in fact a price we as anthropologists must pay, it would be worth paying. American anthropology has had its phenomenal growth because of its realized and potential usefulness to society.

There is no longer any great debate about who should go to school, and there is almost complete unanimity that all should go until 16 to 18 years of age. The question of where they should go to school is a burning issue, but anthropologists are on the side of integration.

Nor is there any serious debate on the question of whether our colleges should admit all those who want a chance to demonstrate that they can learn on the college level. The debate centers on the question of what is "possible," feasible, and most effective.

In the search for our own answer, I suggest that we should ask ourselves, "Why do we study and teach anthropology?" In the immediate instance, that we may achieve a more adequate understanding of the nature of man; in the ultimate, that this knowledge may provide the means to order human relations intelligently and successfully in the construction of a more perfect society.

The ultimate uses of anthropology depend upon the application of its findings both by those who are professionally trained in anthropology, and by nonanthropologists who have been influenced by our discipline. Professional anthropology achieves its basic strength through its freedom from major concern with immediately practical problems. Freedom from dominance by public policy and social reform interests lends to anthropology, as Riesman (1951) has observed, a greater degree of objectivity and scientific imaginativeness than obtains in political science and sociology. The social worth of anthropology's objective findings becomes more notable as these findings are communicated to others in such a way that the benefits of anthropological knowledge may be widely shared and applied. It is in this sense that the American educational system has a unique quality.

The *Economist*, in a review of Prince Philip's *Selected Speeches 1948–55*, says, "Prince Phillip's message . . . [is] that original as the British are, they fail at large-scale application of science for human well-being. Others 'git thar fustest with the mostest' " (Anonymous 1957:586). One way to achieve large-scale application of science for human well-being is to get there with the mostest students.

Today we enroll some three million students in colleges and universities; in thirteen years we expect to be confronted with four million. Great Britain, for example, with little more than a fourth the population of the United States, has ninety thousand university students, or one person in each 500 of the total population; the ratio in the United States is approximately one in seventy-five. Great Britain hopes to provide university education for a maxi-

mum of 120,000 in a decade, when its ratio will be one university student for each 400 of the population; at that time the ratio in the United States will be one in forty.

Our major concern will then be how we can maintain high-quality communication of anthropology to thousands of students and at the same time effectively train hundreds of professional candidates in our graduate schools. At the moment, however, my point is that in spite of the dangers of deterioration in quality that will have to be overcome, the very nature of our university and educational system provides us with an unparalleled vehicle for the broad dissemination of anthropological knowledge. The figures I have cited do not tell the whole story. We are totally ignorant of how many of our three million students study anthropology. At the University of Minnesota it is about 18 percent of the total enrolled this year, but I do not know whether this is typical. In foreign universities the percentage would indubitably be much less. In net effect, the milieu of American society permits anthropology to make a strong impact in a way that is not possible elsewhere.

Finally, in inventorying the advantages of our system, we should note that its nature permits healthy diversity—and in diversity there is stimulus, provided unity is not lost. I count as gains the recent developments in personality and culture (a reflection of the American concern with the individual), in meta- and psycholinguistics, in genetic anthropology, anthropological jurisprudence, the new archeology, ethnohistory, culture theory, the anthropology of medicine and public health and law. Our system provides enough personnel to specialize in these and other fields, while still producing sound fundamental ethnographies and studies in social anthropology.

If others can develop their researches in the field and in strictly delimited areas of anthropology with more intensity and finesse because they are less distracted by students and community and university responsibilities, we are fortunate in having access to their results. The science benefits simultaneously from the products of their systems and ours. Finally, our system also provides the means for continuous publication of anthropological papers in media which are open to all colleagues.

Perhaps I have dwelt overlong on the positive aspects of anthropology and universities in American society. Let us look more closely at our task. As teachers we are faced with the double responsibility of teaching and screening. We sit in judgment at the end of every term, entering a decision on the work and capabilities of each student. In part as a consequence of those judgments, not all who enter our colleges continue to graduation. However, examinations should never be only screening devices; they should be positive learning experiences as well. In the face of steadily mounting numbers, the temptation will become alluring to fall back on screening exams which can be machine graded. Thought and information-integrating examinations which must be read through and judiciously weighed will become more burdensome. Yet, the more we may allow ourselves to rely upon the first, the more certainly will we move in the direction of inferior learning.

We may ask ourselves whether we do not unduly postpone giving concentrated attention to our potentially most able students. Our graduate schools provide personal attention and stringent work standards for those who are in professional training, but is not too much of our undergraduate study overstandardized about the modal norm of performance? And do not our universities' special facilities devote a disproportionate amount of resources and energy to the student of lesser quality rather than to the one of proven excellence? An estimate from Ohio State University suggests that 95 percent of our counselling and special classes are devoted to the marginal student on his way out of the university or on his way back in. How much time do most of us devote to the development of special and less restrictive learning opportunities for the sophisticated original research which has such great value, as some of you know from personal experience, and which was convincingly demonstrated by the Social Science Research Council Undergraduate Research Training Program? Every anthropologist has an obligation to influence his institution to provide better means for the more able undergraduates to push beyond the ranges and requirements devised for the average.

We must set ourselves to think anew about graduate training. It now takes about nine years from the inception of graduate studies for the average Ph.D. candidate to achieve his doctorate. There is clearly something amiss—and also inhuman—in such protraction of uncertainty and apprenticeship. Medieval guilds protecting their monopoly positions could hardly have been more heartless. A decade ago the percentage of anthropologists holding the doctorate was well above the norm for other social sciences and the humanities. The Ph.D. degree in anthropology has always been a research degree, but can we or should we strive to keep it exclusively so in the future? Given the numbers of anthropology teachers soon to be required on the junior college level, will it be sensible to expect that they all have field experience? It is unlikely that the means will be available to provide it, and doubtful that such experience will always be necessary. Are we ready to re-order our programs to provide two kinds of doctorates: a research doctorate for those who have the qualities to do original, creative research, and a nonresearch doctorate for those who are without research potential but who are qualified to teach? The second group does not need as prolonged training as the first, but it does need more training than most Master's programs now require. Rather than the research and nonresearch doctorate, if this notion is too unpalatable, we could reconstitute the M.A., conceiving it to mean all the mastery of the Ph.D. except the extra years spent in demonstrating research competence. By some such means we may hope better to meet the demands for trained teachers of anthropology, while still preparing those who will both teach and carry on the development of the science.

Lastly, as scholars it behooves us to join hands with the physical scientists in their current efforts to influence the secondary schools toward more rigorous programs of pre-college training. It will be easier to maintain college standards and effective teaching of large numbers if the high schools provide better

preparation. We should also support the effort to produce many more competent scientists and engineers. But as humanists and scientists whose subject is man, we owe it to our nation and to humanity to curb all over-zealous efforts to harness education too tightly to a missiles and H-bomb race. This is not likely to happen in America, but we, whose discipline is simultaneously a physical and a social science, have a special responsibility to see that it does not happen.

The Cold War many continue for some time, and indeed the hope of mankind is that it may go on for a decade or so without flaring into a hot war. For the societies of man have woven a wide network of social relations without yet having formed that consciousness of world community that leads them to invent controls in which the interests of the world unity are supreme over national and regional interests. More time is needed to develop this consciousness, to develop a law and political system for and of the world community that is capable of acting upon consensus. Thus while an indefinite continuation of the Cold War is our hope, rocket and H-bomb preparations for a potential War of Termination are an inevitable part of our lives. The important thing is to do our part in seeing that our colleges and universities hold to a rigorous but well-rounded program of advanced education. If sanity gives way to an extinction phobia, here or in Russia, then as Bertrand Russell (1957:683) has written to President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev,

> In order to promote efficiency in the preparation of death, education will have to be distorted and stunted. Everything in human achievement that is not inspired by hatred and fear will be squeezed out of the curriculum in schools and universities.
>
> Any attempt to preserve the vision of man as the triumph (so far) of the long ages of evolution, will come to be viewed as treachery, since it will be thought not to minister to the victory of this group or that.
>
> Such a prospect is death to the hopes of all who share the aspirations which have inspired human progress since the dawn of history.

By some process of differential selection, anthropologists are generally optimists. Of course, this is true of scientists generally, for they believe in the ameliorative benefits of knowledge. We face a tremendous task in maintaining the quality of our science under internal conditions of an exponential increase of college-level enrollments. We face a task of planetary magnitude in lending a hand in the maintenance of balance and order in human affairs. Our numbers may be relatively few, but our science magnifies the effectiveness of our individual contributions. It may well be that, as in the opinion of the president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, " . . . the time must come—if we can survive our own misuse of the physical sciences—when the discoveries of cultural anthropology will be recognized as the most significant contributions of modern science" (Sears 1955:356).

Thus far our society has provided the means for the healthy nourishment of our science, and our profession has enlisted hard-working, creative members in numbers that have made possible an effective response to the opportunity.

It is up to us, the current and coming generation of American anthropologists, to see that Sears' assessment comes true, rather than the one with which I opened this discussion.

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Culture Process and Intellectual Current: Durkheim and Atatürk[1]

ROBERT F. SPENCER
University of Minnesota

INTRODUCTION

IN THE Middle and Near East, as elsewhere in the changing world, local forms of nationalism have their origins in culture and culture history. Two major cultural domains have existed in the area, the Arab and the Turkish. These two, differing from each other largely in language rather than in basic pattern, were once loosely unified under the aegis of the caliphate, but political events, particularly after World War I, have drawn them increasingly apart. The respective Arab nations have gone their separate ways, each to develop its own volatile brand of nationalist aspirations, aims which became particularly explosive after the founding of Israel. But the Turks underwent their social and nationalist revolution somewhat earlier. Increasingly indifferent to its historical ties with the Islamic world, Turkey began to think of itself as a wholly autonomous nation-culture. The Turkish quest for self-assertion was fostered by Kemal Atatürk, who provided a special kind of rationale.

What this was and how it developed reflect a culture process of particular significance. Atatürk and his associates, urbanized and Westernized intellectuals, set out deliberately to "modernize" Turkish culture and to develop a Westernized Turkish state which could exist on a par with the nations of Europe. To do this, they were confronted with the necessity of defining a Turkish ethos and of making Western elements one with it. Hence, as a basis for their actions, they were obliged to commit themselves to a system of social and political thought, a set of ground rules for the cultural modifications they sought to make. Obviously, there is an organic relationship, especially on the level of the literate cultures, between social system and philosophical premise. A constitutional type of government, for example, whether that of the United States, Britain, or the Soviet Union, reflects a system of conceptual values and in turn provides a rationale for behavior. The Turks borrowed elements of Western culture widely and intensively. As a result of the Kemalist revolution they took over Western material traits, designed a European-type government, and engaged in a wholesale importation of Western legal systems. But more than this, the party of Atatürk found rational justification in an ideology which, although imported, permitted a course of nationalist action. Interested in culture change, in the processes of diffusion and integration, the anthropologist can find a classic example of culture building in the creation of the modern state and the modified society among the Turks. But further, that the rationale for Turkish national action should lie in the work of Émile Durkheim lends an anthropological interest of another kind.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE TURKISH TRANSFORMATION

From an empire under the caliph-sultans, a domain which spread at one time from Central Asia across North Africa to the Atlantic, Turkey has shrunk to a small ethnic enclave embracing Anatolia and a small segment of southeastern Europe across the Bosporus and Dardanelles. Where the empire of the sultans was marked by a cultural pluralism, the Turkish Republic is characterized by a remarkable cultural unity. Where, under the Sublime Porte, a place was made for minorities, such as the many national and cultural units, sectarian groups of Muslims, Jewish and Christian bodies, Greeks and Armenians, and a host of others, all brought together in their respective *milletler* (i.e. nations), Turkey today, since 1923–24, has repudiated all ethnic diversity (Allen 1935:60 ff.; Webster 1939:28). Consciously and deliberately, Atatürk's cry of "Turkey for the Turks" has been fostered.

The shaping of modern Turkey as an integrated, nationalistic society, virtually overnight, is perhaps nowhere paralleled outside of Japan. Native Turkish culture, like the Japanese, took hold of consciously borrowed elements and aligned them to fit existing patterns. In his role as culture historian, the anthropologist has made much of Japan as an example of a marginal culture capable of wholesale borrowing. There is, it may be supposed, no more classic a case of diffusion than that which took place from the Asiatic mainland to Japan prior to 1620 AD, and after 1868 from the West to the Japanese Islands. Indeed, from 405 AD, the date of the introduction of Chinese writing and Buddhism into Japan, Japanese history is an open book; always the ways in which the Japanese have borrowed, rejected, integrated, and yet come up with a series of social institutions which remain distinctly Japanese, become prime examples of culture process in action (Kroeber 1948:743–46). Turkey, like Japan, has shed the aura of non-Western, feudal society within a relatively short time. Turkish culture, again like the Japanese, has been marginal, ancillary in its growth both to the centers of Arab civilization and Persian sophistication at an earlier time, and later to the European developments.

As Steward has recently indicated (1956:84–85), the concept of marginality as applied to the development of culture has a rather limited value. Borrowing of any kind implies a degree of marginality. But it may be argued that both the Turks and the Japanese have occupied marginal geographic positions, Anatolia, like the Japanese Islands, being isolated from the trade route and crossroads heartland of Eurasia. A temporal marginality is also applicable to the Turks, especially to the Ottoman Turks, whose late arrival in the Middle East came when the cultural energies of the Arabs had been pretty well dissipated. Further, on the basis of historical documentation, such marginal cultures admit the paradox of extremes of rigidity as against extremes of elasticity, a point which suggests that a concomitant of marginality is imperfection of integration of the elements making up the total cultural configuration (Kroeber 1948:418–21). Like the Japanese, the Turks seem to lack cultural balance. Following their conversion to Islam, they became slaves to the conventions of the Arabs and to rigidity of form. Thus Ottoman political administration

could never keep pace with the changing patterns of Europe and sought instead to retain medieval Arab and Byzantine models. Having once borrowed Byzantine bureaucratic structure after the capture of Constantinople by Muhammad II in 1453, and interpreted it in terms of Sunnite Islam, the Turks appeared powerless to modify it. On the other hand, while the Turkish military made improvements in artillery in the fifteenth century, they soon reached the extreme of producing mathematically impossible cannon (Babinger 1953).

But in general, and unquestionably as a reflection of their marginal cultural status, the Ottoman Turks brought no innovations. They were serious, orthodox Muslims, but they never produced a representative theologian. Their artists and architects employed only Persian and Byzantine models, while their poets wrote in Arabic and Persian, rarely in Turkish. After the battle of Mohacs in 1683, when Turkish aggression in central Europe was checked for all time, a point of cultural stasis appears to have been reached. The brief period of cultural vitality which the Ottomans enjoyed after 1453 and again in the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent in the 16th century gave way to a hopeless attempt to preserve a medieval status quo (Toynbee and Kirkwood 1927:16–30). Technological equals of Europe at the time of Lepanto (1571), the Turks began to resist innovation from the West through the next centuries. However, this did not prevent the appearance of fads, items imported from the West, to which an inordinate amount of attention was given. The early eighteenth century is referred to as the *Lâle Devresi*, the Tulip Era, when a gardening fad swept through the upper social strata (Webster 1939: 20). This and the fad-like preoccupations associated with it are comparable to the movements which swayed Japan shortly after initial contact with the West (Chamberlain 1905). In any case, as the Ottoman empire fell away, as the pashas of North Africa asserted their independence from the Porte, and as Nelson and Napoleon contested Egypt, Turkey then, as clearly in the 19th century, became the "sick man of Europe."

Westernization among the Ottoman Turks, although it began in the 18th century, was never vital nor resolute. About 1780, Abdülhamid I introduced French military men to reorganize the Janissaries (*yeni cheri*, the "new" troops), that curious and intensely powerful backbone of Turkish military administration (Lewis 1955:31). And even though the Janissary organization was deliberately destroyed in 1826 by Sultan Mahmud II—by the simple expedient of mass murder—the officer clique in the Westernized army became the only group with a specific leaning to the West (Toynbee and Kirkwood 1927:41; White 1937:248). The Sublime Porte had taken a stand analogous to that of the Tokugawa shoguns in Japan: a concerted effort was made to prevent the infiltration of European ideas into Turkey. This related chiefly to the importation of European literature. But the Turks were less successful than the Japanese in maintaining an enforced isolation, particularly because war-won concessions gave extraterritorial rights to some European nations and because of the necessity for a Westernized army to keep some semblance of order in the Balkan and Mediterranean domains. This meant that army

officers were permitted access to Western works on military tactics and so indirectly to European literature in general (Webster 1939:21). Thus, through its military, Ottoman Turkey was introduced to the Age of Enlightenment and to the radicalism of 1789, 1830, and 1848. Indeed, it was out of this progressive military clique that Atatürk and his henchmen came. Political and social reform had its origins in the Turkish army and it was through the officer class, too, that Western science made its way to Turkey (Webster 1939:21). The 19th century saw the growth of admiration for France and French institutions (Duda 1948:46). French became the language of the intellectual elite, of the salon (cf. Mannheim 1956:135 ff.), and remains pretty much so today.

Out of the 19th century came a short-lived period of revolution, the *Tanzimat*, the "benevolent" reforms of Abdülmecid II (1839–1861), which introduced laws providing some egalitarian guarantees for Muslim and non-Muslim, prohibition of bribery, and uniform taxation. The Tanzimat laws and the attempts to put into practice a European-type constitution were more or less shelved in the conservative sultanate of Abdülhamid II (1876–1909). The period of the "Young Turks" which began in 1908 saw a series of abortive attempts to "modernize," as it was conceived, swinging political and military organization more closely in line with that of European nations. But the palace revolt of the Young Turks, disaffected army officers for the most part, only succeeded in creating confusion. Some of the group dragged out the neglected constitution and debated it hotly, others cried for a restoration of empire, while still others sought to effect a union of all Turks wherever they might be found (Duda 1948:57–73). It was to this party, divided though it was, that the conduct of World War I fell. Reduced to a shambles in 1918, Turkey saw its dreams of Ottomanism, or empire, of pan-Turanism, the Turkish-speaking union, and even of Westernization fall by the way. Although the sultan still occupied a place, and retained his title of caliph in Sunnite Islam, the Turkish tie with the Arab world was effectively severed.

It was out of this background that events leading toward a Westernizing revolution were shaped. Suffice it to say that the political affairs of the time set the stage for the wholesale modifications which the regime of Atatürk engineered. When the empire was finally dismembered after 1918, when, within the next five years, the bloody war with the Greeks had been fought and won, and when Britain and France especially were willing to recognize a Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal, the Gazi or conqueror—not yet called Atatürk—had become the point around which new policies revolved. Atatürk's leadership began in 1919 and was consolidated by 1923. Up to this time, as is evident, the course of Westernization had not only been slow and sporadic but was bitterly resisted. The Kemalist dictatorship, indifferent to opposition and ruthlessly over-riding it, set as its goal the thorough Westernization of the Turkish state and of Turkish institutions. Enforced culture change, directed from above, leading away from the medieval Arab organization and toward a completely Europeanized one, was the underlying premise of the Kemalist reforms.

What these were, how they were brought about, and their impact on the

Turks in Turkey can be quickly summarized. The reforms were primarily social, reflected in the adoption of new legal codes, modifications in political structure, economic reform, and by no means least, separation of church and state, and language reform. In review, the following chronology may be given (cf. Allen 1935; Adnan-Adivar 1951; Birge 1949; Deny and Marchand 1933; Duda 1948; Halide Edib 1930; Hartmann 1948; Jäschke 1951; v. Kral 1937; Lewis 1955; Thomas 1951; Toynbee and Kirkwood 1927; Webster 1939):

1922 November 1. Abolition of the sultanate after the signing of the armistice with the allied entente. It is agreed that the sultan (Vahdeddin, Muhammad VI) will retain certain rights, including the office of caliph.

November 18. Exile of the sultan; his cousin, Abdülmecid, assumes the office of caliph.

1923 October 13–14. Ankara replaces Istanbul as the national capital. An inconvenient capital, Ankara nevertheless serves as a focus for the nationalist spirit fostered by the Kemalists, its central Anatolian location being more reflective of the native Turkish "genius" than the cosmopolitan Istanbul.

October 29. Proclamation of the Turkish Republic.

1924 March 2. Abolition of the office of caliph; exile of all members of the Ottoman house. Abolition of religious schools, ecclesiastical law courts, and the Ottoman Ministry of Religious Affairs.

April 20. Adoption of the constitution prepared by the Kemalist *Cumhuriyet Halk Fïrkasï* (Republican Peoples' Party). The constitution embodies the social and political rationale and philosophy of Atatürk.

1925 August. Outlawing of polygyny and divorce by formula. Introduction of Swiss civil laws relating to divorce.

September 2. Publication of decrees suppressing religious orders (dervish monasticism), closing religious houses and shrines, particularly the tombs of saints.

November 30. Enactment of the "hat law." This proscribed the wearing of the fez and required that men adopt Western dress. The veiling of women, while not prohibited, was discouraged in press campaigns. A particular sensation was caused by this law, implying as it does a break with the past in the abolition of Turkish peasant and national costumes. Atatürk himself, taking a lead in forcing the change, toured remote areas in Western civil dress.

1926 January-February. Enactment of new legal codes relating to civil, criminal, and commercial law. These were developed after much study of European codes and based respectively on Swiss, Italian, and German systems.

September 1. Civil marriage made the sole legal ceremony for all citizens of the republic.

October 3. Unveiling of the first statue of Atatürk in the Sarayburnu Park in Istanbul. This is an event of significance when Muslim attitudes on "graven images" are considered. It is still true, however, that only Atatürk's pictures and images may be publicly exhibited. Like the "hat law," this struck a blow at religious conservatism.

1926–28 Language reform. A movement to purify Turkish, thereby ridding it of the extensive Arabic and Persian vocabulary, was begun in the nineteenth century when the spirit of pan-Turanism began to grow. Revived by the

Young Turks and carried through into the period after World War I, the movement sought to change street and town names of Arabic and Persian derivation and to replace them with names of "pure" Turkish origin. Similarly, and especially in journalism, Turkisms were fabricated—so much so, indeed, that many Turks claim to have been unable to read a newspaper of the time with comprehension. A parallel linguistic revival appears in modern Israeli Hebrew and in the Erse of Eire. Actually, the Turks were less than successful, since it has proved impossible to drop Arabic terms, especially those employed in the scientific and philosophical lexicon.

As part of the Westernizing campaign, November 3, 1928, was set as the date forbidding publication of books and newspapers in the Arabic alphabet. A Latin alphabet, adapted from the work of Soviet phonologists in respect to Siberian Turkish-speaking minorities, was put forth for Turkish with some slight modifications and remains in use today. All instruction was to be given in the new alphabet after December 1, 1928, and all citizens under 40 were required to learn it. Atatürk again took a lead, touring the country to give demonstrations of the new form of writing.

The tremendous importance of this innovation, marking as it does a hiatus between the traditional and the modern, cannot be underestimated. As a result of it, a generation of Turks has emerged educated in the traditions of the West in books translated from Western languages and essentially oblivious of prerepublican literature. In fact, Kroeber (1947:411) considers alphabetic reform to be Atatürk's most significant achievement.

1928 April 9. Abolition of the constitutional clause naming Islam as the state religion, one of a series of laws designed to establish the secular character of the state. Under terms of this amendment, not only is the national assembly freed from application of religious laws, but the name of God is not required in oaths. There is instead, in legal situations, the affirmation of national honor, such formulas as "I vow by my honor as a Turk" being substituted for oaths.

1930 May. Failure of Atatürk's brief experiment in Western political organization. Hoping to enrich political life, he called for the organization of a rival party. This, the Liberal Republican Party under the leadership of Ali Fethi Bey, failed to make headway in the national elections. The point is important, however, in reflecting Atatürk's conscious emulation of the European democracies.

1934 December 14. Women permitted to vote for members of the national assembly and to hold office in it. From 1930, the vote in municipal elections had been given to women. In 1935, 17 women were sent to the Grand National Assembly.

1935 May 27. Sunday adopted as the official weekly holiday, the law also requiring suspension of business and industrial activities at 1:00 P.M. on Saturday. This is a reflection of the adoption of the Gregorian calendar and Christian era dating. Turkish Islam does retain Friday with its noon *khuṭba* (sermon), but it must be recalled that in any case Friday in Islam is not a sabbath rest day.

June 15. Ecclesiastical garb outside mosques and churches prohibited.

1934–36 Adoption of family names. The law requiring the Turks to abandon the traditional teknonymy and nicknaming pattern was enacted June 21, 1934, and

was to go into effect on January 1, 1935. So much confusion resulted, however, that an extension was granted to mid-1936. Again, the break with tradition is clear. The assumption of surnames in a modern state (as in Japan somewhat earlier) is obviously advantageous for effective taxation, military conscription, and general registration. But more than this, the Turks, by adopting family names, have been forced to conform to European family patterns and as a result have become increasingly less conscious of genealogy. Increased mobility, as well as the fact that close relatives might adopt different surnames, have been factors in disrupting the traditional lineage system. In keeping with the law, the Gazi Mustafa Kemal—Mustafa being his given name, Kemal a title of honorific association—was given by decree of the Grand National Assembly (November 24, 1934) the surname Atatürk in perpetuity. The name, of course, means "father Turk."

1938 November 10. Death of Atatürk.

While the foregoing summary is not the whole story, sufficient has perhaps been shown of the direction of culture change in republican Turkey. The pattern is clear and shows the conscious manipulation, by edict and decree, of Turkish society and culture. That there was opposition goes without saying. It came particularly from the dispossessed religious conservatives and from some of the minorities such as the Kurds, but it was easily crushed. Conversely, the urban and town dwellers of Turkey appear to have been avid in their acceptance of the Westernizing Kemalist reforms. From them, innovation spread to the rural areas. The revolution of Atatürk has proved eminently successful. At least, the changes in patterns of education, in religion, and the whole array of economic and political modifications have carried through the whole of Turkish society today. Ottomanism is long since gone. Replacing it, consciously and vigorously, is the sense of national unity, of the oneness of society and culture among the Turks of Turkey.

In the accepted sense of the word, Turkey is modern. The fact that the pendulum has begun to swing slightly away from the revolutionary progressivism of the party of Atatürk does not change the picture. It is true that Premier Menderes' more conservative party, the so-called Democrats, has since 1950 been in power at the expense of Atatürk's Republicans, and has grown in stature and power following the leader's death and the second war. But even if one begins to encounter veiled women in Turkey with somewhat greater frequency, and if somewhat greater attention is being given to the *hocas* and imams of traditional Islam, the Turkish course toward industrialized urbanism is committed. The stock of Turkey rose considerably in world opinion when a force was sent to Korea and when Turkey affirmed its stand with the Western powers. But merely to stress Turkish modernism and the overt manifestations of culture change among the Turks fails to take account of the ideological rationale for revolution. Atatürk found one, and it proved one which at least the Turks were willing to accept.

DURKHEIM'S THEORIES AND TURKISH NATIONALISM

The dictatorship of Kemal Atatürk suggests the same situational matrix out of which Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin also came. The parallel is perhaps

well taken, since the troubled interlude following the first World War seems to have paved the way for a revitalized nationalism across Europe, one which here and there found an outlet in the leader principle. Certainly, the impression gained from the role of Atatürk in modern Turkish history is one of ruthless and overriding power. Once the leader was in the saddle, the Turks had no alternative but to go along with the reforms he promulgated. But the methods of the Turkish Republic and its national aims and aspirations differ sharply from those of Italy, Germany, or the Soviet Union. The imperialism of the totalitarian dictatorships of Europe, the quest for *Lebensraum*, or the missionizing assertions of moral or historical superiority, are not shared by the Turks. Indeed, Turkey's imperial griefs under the sultans were viewed as sufficient basis for avoiding foreign commitments. Atatürk's foreign policy, a series of nonaggression pacts with neighboring nations, is an indication that the aim of revolution was toward internal change and growth, one which held the outside, at least politically and militarily, at a distance. Mussolini's apostleship of fascism, Hitler's racism, or Stalin's determinism had no parallel in Turkey. "Turkey for the Turks" was a concept founded in a different vein, in Atatürk's espousal of a point of view derived from Durkheim.

The importance of Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) to the contemporary social sciences, especially to sociology and to some well defined and respected branches of anthropology, is not wholly easy to estimate. Lowie, writing twenty years ago (1937:196 ff.), is sharply critical of what he terms Durkheim's doctrinaire position and, so far as can be judged, never found occasion to retract his views. To Lowie, however, an approach to human society through the avenues of structure and function was not wholly acceptable and it seems fair to say that Lowie was to some extent led astray by Durkheim's jargon, such as "social fact" (Durkheim 1910), or by the sacred-profane dichotomy (1912). It must be admitted that the Durkheimian thesis calls for considerably more than ethnologists with historical concerns will allow. When Durkheim is divorced from his historical preoccupations, his theories underlie much of the contempoary interest of social anthropology. The concept of the social system, the holistic view of culture, and approaches to society based on the integrative worth of components unquestionably owe more to Durkheim and his followers, especially Radcliffe-Brown, than they do, for example, to Malinowski.

But it is not the task of the present paper to evaluate Durkheim as a theorist. As sociologist-philosopher, his place is won and it remains for those whose views are especially colored by his hypotheses to find applications and to subject them to new tests. Like any thinker of note, Durkheim possesses yet another dimension. An aspect of his theorizing is the historical part which it plays in the building of Western social science. In this respect, Durkheim represents a point on a continuum, a phenomenon brought about by the emergence of the social philosophical climate of the nineteenth century. In Comte and others, the antecedents of Durkheimian reasoning can be found, while it is possible to trace the influence of this general philosophical stream through Durkheim to the present day. That the Turkish Francophiles should

discover Durkheim is not surprising. But it is indeed of interest that they should seek to apply Durkheimian points of view to revolution and to employ them as bases of social reform.

Atatürk, as must be evident, was no philosopher. His career was that of militarist, diplomat, and politician. While tremendously active and energetic, single-minded, and remarkably firm of purpose, it was clearly not he who discovered Durkheim's theories and saw in them the rationale for the future course of the Turkish nation and society. His mentors were scholars, one man in particular, who had been active in the troubled period of the Young Turks, both before and during World War I. The Turks themselves give credit to Mehmet Ziya, the sociologist and poet who provides the ideology of the Kemalist movement.

Mehmet Ziya (1875?–1924), better known by the name which he assumed to epitomize his nationalist views, Ziya Gökalp—the "blue hero," a name appearing in the genealogy of the Ottoman dynasty—followed in his career the familiar stereotype of the revolutionary. Fairly extensive appraisals of his life and activity are available (cf. Heyd 1950, Deny 1925, Hartmann 1925, Fahri 1935; Tütengil 1949; Şapolyo 1943; Rossi 1924).[2] Of Kurdish origin, an Anatolian, he came to Constantinople in the 1890s, imbued with the ideals of the French Revolution and rabidly concerned with Westernized reform. As a member of the Committee of Union and Progress, the backbone of the Young Turk movement, he was arrested by the secret police and exiled to his native town of Diyarbekir. Here, politically inactive for several years, he read widely in French materials, notably the works of Comte, Tarde, LeBon, and Fouillée. As nearly as can be judged, Gökalp knew only French among Western European languages, but there is some indication of his having become familiar with the work of Tönnies (Heyd 1950:66–67). In 1909, the Young Turks, with their Committee of Union and Progress, had been successful in bringing off their coup d'etat and the oligarchy of the committee assumed control of the moribund Ottoman domain. Although Gökalp was not a member of the inner military circle, he had attracted sufficient attention with his writing to be awarded a post in Salonika. Here he was both a member of the local central council and a teacher and lecturer in the Union and Progress secondary school. He taught sociology, the first time this subject had been offered in Turkey.

In Salonika, by 1912, Ziya Gökalp had discovered Durkheim and was giving his full attention to Durkheim's theories. Writing actively on social and political subjects in journals, some of which he was instrumental in founding, Ziya concentrated on applying his new-found views to the concept of the Turkish state. Although he lacked an academic degree, Gökalp's writings had attracted sufficient attention and he had become recognized as sufficient of an intellectual leader to be offered the chair of sociology at the University of Constantinople in 1915. Here, at a university just beginning to experiment with Western learning, Ziya's position as the social philosopher of the Young Turk movement was crystallized. He held his professorship through the war, but was imprisoned when the government fell with the defeat of the Central

Powers. Exiled to Malta by the British occupation forces, Gökalp returned to the troubled times of the war with Greece. He attached himself to the growing Kemalist movement, and although never intimate with Atatürk, his continuing publications, his reputation, and his fervent patriotism found him a place in the party. Despite his early death and the fact that he took no active position of political leadership, he emerges as the intellectual force behind the directed social changes of the Atatürk regime. Every Turkish school child of today knows the work of Mehmet Ziya Gökalp, and he has come to be recognized by the Turks themselves as the foremost interpreter of the modern Turkish spirit and of Turkish nationalism.

If the idea of "Turkey for the Turks" was to be developed, the Kemalist movement was confronted with a problem of no small dimensions, one which it had actually inherited from the period of the Young Turks. The decadent empire, with its many cultural groups vaguely allied with the Porte, could obviously not be revived. Reunion with the Arab states was impossible, but there was the continuing problem of a supposed unity of Sunnite Islam under the sultan-caliphs of Turkey. Atatürk solved the problem by turning on Islam, by abolishing the caliphate, and by his rigorous separation of religion from politics. But again, any such action required that the nationalist aspirations of the Turks be brought to the fore and given special emphasis. The Kemalist constitution solves the problem neatly, stressing as it does the internalized, organic wholeness of the Turkish nation. This successfully repudiates all external connections and disposes of Ottomanism and pan-Turkism, as well as of pan-Islam. From Ziya Gökalp comes the concept *Türkçülük*, Turkism, stressing the organic integrity, the cultural and intellectual unity of Turkish society and nation. The primary rationale for this, as can readily be seen, is drawn directly from Durkheim's concepts of society (Heyd 1957:104 ff.).

Ziya Gökalp found in Durkheim a palatable form of positivism. In Durkheim's collectivism he discovered the basis of an ideal, one which transcends both the metaphysics of Islam and the question of social goals as conceived solely by individuals (Heyd 1950:48). In complete agreement with Durkheim, Ziya stressed the supremacy of society, following the French sociologist's proposition that all social process is resident in the internal composition of the social group. From Durkheim, too, Ziya adopted the familiar *représentations collectives*, deriving his system of ideals, as he conceived it, from the collective consciousness. If Gökalp found additional support for his own concept of national Turkish society in Durkheim's social facts, it was also in the latter's "moral facts" as well as in views on religion that he discovered the basis for his Turkish ideal (Heyd 1950:48–53; cf. Durkheim 1924). Ziya thus began with Durkheim's society, but his sole concern was the application of such theories to the Turkish state. However, it is worth mentioning that the Turks are not alone in finding a reconciliation of Durkheimian philosophy and a nationalist spirit (Mitchell 1931).

But it is apparent that Ziya Gökalp was obliged to channel and to limit

his mentor's theories. Although he agreed wholly with Durkheim's sociological position, he was interested only in identifying society with nation. He sought to demonstrate that the collective representations of the national society produce the higher level self-awareness which manifests itself in moral and religious terms in the form of patriotic and national ideals. In line with Durkheim, Ziya saw religious expression as a projection of the social collective. And, on the level of nation-society, patriotism supplants religion. Because the Turkish past is identifiable with Islam and its institutions, Gökalp held, the Turks might employ Islam in progressing toward their national society. But as collective awareness grows, it is the nation which will reflect the ultimate in religious and ideal value (Heyd 1950:124–5).

Ziya found difficulties in resolving the problem of nation as society. Durkheim, it will be recalled, treated nation merely as one form of societal development. But where an application is sought to a specific situation, as in Ziya's case, the nation must be regarded as the final end of the social process. With Durkheim, and in defense of his position, Gökalp posited stages of social growth on the basis of degrees of organization (cf. Durkheim 1910). Of these, the society with a common culture best meets his requirements. But it is at this point that Ziya found it necessary to leave Durkheim who, although not indifferent to a concept of culture, preferred to stress *civilization*. Ziya's writings differentiate between culture and civilization and reflect, as nearly as can be judged, Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dichotomy. Like Tönnies, Gökalp found a state civilization an artificial and unnatural phenomenon. Culture, however, is a strong and vital emanation of the collective spirit (Heyd 1950:63–7). Thus a Turkish national culture founded in a Turkish national society represents a final idealization.

Ziya's Turkish culture is a product of evolution. Like many of his contemporaries, Ziya was swayed by the wave of idealism which had preceded the movement of the Young Turks and in which the pre-Islamic institutions of the Asiatic Turks were glorified. Curiously, it was a Frenchman, Léon Cahun, a writer of novels and popular history in the 1890s, who, using the nomadic Turks as his subject, sparked this aspect of Turkish nationalism (Toynbee and Kirkwood 1927:56–7). Nomadic tribal society, not only that of the Seljuks and Ottomans in their Asiatic homeland, but also the society of contemporary pastoralists in Turkish-speaking Asia, underlay, in Ziya's view, the culture, as he conceived it, of nationalist Turkey (Webster 1938:154). It is worth mentioning that Atatürk seized on this notion as well; in regard to such problems as the emancipation of women in the new Turkey, the dictator stressed the free, unveiled woman of the yurt. Accepting the growth of society through different forms, Ziya followed Durkheim in tracing the development of more intensified morality. Applied to Turkey, he implied that the cultural spirit begins in the nomadic past but that awareness of it is not achieved until progress is made toward the national culture (Heyd 1950:113–4).

Ziya's reasoning brought him back to the problem which was such vital concern to the reformers in the Young Turks movement. Having thus defined

Turkish culture and society and emphasized its essential homogeneity of spirit—a development which, as Ziya is earnest in pointing out, exists apart from race, religion, or political empire—he was faced with the problem of resolving the questions of pan-Turanism. In his earlier career Gökalp had joined with others, including the famous authoress, Halide Edib, in dreaming of a union of all Turks under a state which would restore an Attila or Tamerlane. This was basically a linguistic union, and again Gökalp held with Durkheim that language becomes a primary cohesive factor in the social group. There was hence a basis for a recognition of pan-Turanism in Durkheim's theories. But Ziya solved the problem by holding it to be an ideal to be projected into the far future. It was evident to him that the Asiatic Turks had been left far behind in a process of social evolution. An organic development of society, in Durkheim's sense, was possible only for the *Oğuz* Turks, those of Anatolia and lands immediately adjacent (Heyd 1950:129). Atatürk, at a later time, understandably preferred to silence any pan-Turanian sentiments, being careful to avoid any suggestion of interfering in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. Ziya, too, turned his attention exclusively to the circumscribed nation (Webster 1938:164).

Culture and society defined and located, Ziya faced yet another problem. This related to the future course of the Turkish nation and the problems of Europeanization associated with it. As has been seen, Westernization created serious difficulties for the Ottoman Turks, and solutions ranged from the Westernized constitutional guarantees of the Tanzimat era to the policies of resistance and isolation of Abdülhamid II. Ziya set himself the task of providing a sociological rationale for the acceptance of Western ideas by the Turks. The solution he proposed was both simple and naive: given the organic unity and integrity of Turkish society and the spirit of Turkish culture, the nation is in a position to accept Western civilization in full. At this point Ziya returned to an application of the distinction of Tönnies. Civilization is not culture, but a supercultural development. Nations can share in the same civilization, as he conceived it, but by doing so they may forfeit their cultural integrity. Hence, the Turks must retain their culture but at the same time take over the benefits of Western civilization (Duda 1948:99). How this is to be done is not clear from Ziya's writings. By civilization, he meant the material and scientific, and he thought of Turkey entering world competition on the level of economic production and industry. In other words, this highly idealistic resolution depends on the ability of the Turks to discern their social entity and to separate it from influences which are "Oriental," i.e. Arab-Persian, and Western. Still perceptible, even if newly applied, is the philosophy of Durkheim.

The foregoing sections suggest the ways in which Mehmet Ziya Gökalp, through his espousal of French sociology, came to influence the point of view which the Turks adopted in their march toward Westernization. There can be no question that Atatürk, as the guiding force behind Turkish culture change, was brought close to Durkheim through Ziya's works and built his

theory of the state on applications of the concepts of the French philosopher. It might have been conceived, as the recent history of the Turkish state is reviewed, that the proximity to Russia and the fact of the Bolshevik Revolution might have turned the Turks in the direction of Communism. But Ziya's intellectual force had struck the first note all too effectively for this. Not only did it view with suspicion the internationalist aims of Communism, but, in line with Durkheim's reasoning, Ziya's collective idealism was rooted in the total society, not solely in economic determinism. Atatürk's concept of nation was essentially Ziya's and Durkheim's. Implicitly, the People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) of Atatürk accepted the premise that culture and spirit create the homogeneous national society. In these terms, the state can exist only if based on one culture. This point is unquestionably lent force when considered in terms of Ottoman pluralism and Turkish history before World War I. Ziya argued that an Ottoman culture is self-contradictory. And it was just such a point which Atatürk employed to justify a graceful acceptance of defeat in World War I, as well as the limitation of the Turks to, as it was conceived, an organic national territory.

The collective representations of Durkheim were translated into political action by the party of Atatürk both in their various political pronouncements and in their constitution. One may note, for example, the definition of fatherland (*vatan*) and nation (*millet*) as given by the People's Party in its congress of 1935:

> The fatherland is the sacred country within our present political boundaries, where the Turkish nation lives with its ancient and illustrious history, and with the past glories still living in the depths of its soil. The fatherland is a Unity which does not accept separation under any circumstance.
>
> The nation is the political Unit composed of citizens bound together with the bonds of language, culture, and ideal (cf. Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi 1935).

Or, turning to the constitution itself, Article 2, amended several times, is at last inclusive of the program of the People's Party, as set forth in the political philosophy of Atatürk and his followers:

> The State is republican, nationalist, populist, statist, laical, and revolutionist. Its official language is Turkish; its capital is the city of Ankara.

The effect of this article, amended to eliminate an earlier clause in which Islam was noted as the state religion, it to state, however obliquely, the principles of the integrity of the national society.

But the adjectives which the Kemalist program employed require some explanation. While "republican" of course refers to the nature of the political organization, "nationalist" means specifically the *Türkçülük* of Ziya Gökalp, Turkish unity founded in society and territory. Again, "populist" reflects the ideal of society, the element which may be viewed as the higher ethical consciousness and conscience of the nation. Here, in short, is an expression of the values resident in Durkheim's "moral fact" (1924). Statism, in turn, refers not to the totalitarian principles which some European nations have put forth,

but rather to the integration of individuals within the state society, particularly on the economic level. It is again in line with the reasoning of Durkheim and Ziya that the laical (Fr. *laïque;* T. *lâik*) nature of the state society is stressed. Atatürk's separation of religion and sociopolitical affairs was undertaken not so much in the spirit of anticlericalism and iconoclasm which has characterized some of the nations of Europe as it was in terms of Ziya's derivation, after Durkheim, of the sacred from society. Islam will fall away with the increasing of Turkish patriotism. Last, there is the concept of revolution (*devrim, devrimçilik*). This is less easy to interpret since the revolution, in the Kemalist sense, is an accomplished fact. But the Turkish concept refers to reform or to an active modification. The implication again returns to the idealized spirit of Turkism and the point that Turkey and its society, in taking over institutions from the West, must make of them wholly Turkish traits and patterns (Duda 1948:99–100; Heyd 1950:78–81).

As these so-called Six Principles of the Kemalist ideology are reviewed, it may seem that here is little more than another form of state socialism, comparable to that of Laborite Britain, or better to the designs of the socialist parties of France or Italy, or again, less sympathetically, to the ruthless statism of Naziism. But neither evaluation is fair to the Turkish development. True, the end product might resemble socialism or totalitarianism. But it must be recalled that Durkheim gave complete priority to society and dismissed the worth of the individual. The Turks have retained this concept, and argue that collective action is not arbitrary and is not to be couched in Hegelian dialectic. Statism in Turkey is construed as the manifestation of the collective will. As Turkey has gradually industrialized, particularly since World War II, as it has been the continuing recipient of aid from abroad, the rationale for state social action has been turned back to the ideas of Durkheim. As the state society effects integration, as social structure and social action operate, the lofty ideals of the collective consciousness emerge and economic Westernization can be taken in stride.

The point was made above that the dictatorship of Kemal Atatürk does not compare with the vicious totalitarianism of Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy. The absence of a drive toward territorial aggrandizement and cultural imperialism is unquestionably a factor in making this so. But it is also true that Atatürk's self-conception differed from that of his fellow dictators. While it is difficult to thread one's way through the maze of controversial information, it seems clear that Kemal Atatürk viewed himself as an instrument in the social process. By assisting the Turks to achieve the goal of a society integrated in terms of basic Turkish social values with an overlay of what Ziya Gökalp called Western "civilization," Atatürk saw himself merely as speeding a process which was resident in the nature of the Turkish social order (Armstrong 1932).

CONCLUSIONS

On one level, the social revolution of the Kemalist regime represents no more than the cultural processes of diffusion and integration. Or, because

Turkey has been forced into the community of Western nations, with far-reaching social consequences for the Turks, analysis might be made in terms of acculturation—although a "one-way" acculturation, since it is evident that the Turks have contributed little or nothing to the West. If to this is added the fact of the dominant personality, Atatürk himself, there is the question of the innovator—in this instance, the leader of what could be defined as a revivalist movement. Atatürk, it is true, speeded up the process. Of course, it may be argued that the situation was such, what with Ottoman decay and encroaching Western patterns, that the Turkish revolution would have been an inevitable result of the processes of history, Atatürk or no. But it is not the intention of this paper to quarrel with the Great Man theory of history nor yet to support it. A somewhat different dimension is suggested.

A system of thought, be it moral, ethical, social—indeed, however it is conceived—cries for application. Such a system arises either as a series of concepts original to the particular thinker or as a recasting of existing premises and patterns. Most contemporary anthropologists would question the former statement and argue, without necessarily belaboring the point, that the community of interest and understanding inherent in a cultural system creates the fertile ground in which innovation grows. Hence, a philosophical system is in itself a pattern of culture, historically derived and congruent with existing culturally defined themes and values. In this sense, a system of organized thought is an invention, comparable to any in the material realm and subject to the same processes of growth and development which govern any human endeavor in culture. The relativistic implications of such a view make the anthropologist justly impatient with nonempirical approaches or attempts to theologize the concept of culture. This aside, however, if idea systems can be treated as cultural phenomena, and it is clear that they can, they can also serve as potentially useful indices of the principles which underlie behavior in a culture. Anthropology is generally regarded as one of the behavioral sciences. Admittedly, behavior and ideology go together, and it is a needless expenditure of effort to construct ideological and value representations without reference to behavior. But given a concrete example of the impact of an ideological system, as in the case of the Turks, and particularly when the founder of the system is one whom anthropology claims as its own, the problem is of a slightly different nature.

Probably because it is difficult to obtain from nonliterate societies either an objective series of statements or a deeper historical perspective, anthropology has been less concerned with the impact of ideas on culture and more interested in the behavior associated with impact. To elicit the themes of a culture, the underlying postulates and premises, one must rely primarily on an analysis of patterned behavior. This is not quite the same thing as evaluating the impact of innovation in ideas. Even so, there are numerous examples of the behavioral results of ideological changes. One thinks at once of the Ghost Dance, or of any other examples of messianism or revivalism.

This paper has been concerned with two men in Turkish culture—Ziya Gökalp and Kemal Atatürk. In a sense, both are marginal men—the one a

discontented revolutionary and patriot, the other a liberal, a member of the dissatisfied and progressive military clique. The fact of Ottoman disintegration paves the way for their activities. But nowhere is it explained why the work of Durkheim should prove more satisfying than, let us say, the work of Marx. One might submit that the same results could have been achieved under Marxian ideology, but for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the recent international course of Turkey, this does not seem to be so. It is unquestionably an accident that Ziya Gökalp discovered French sociology, and it is an accident too that he was placed in the position of intellectual leadership in Istanbul in the period of World War I. But once Durkheim had been interpreted in Turkish nationalist terms and heralded by Ziya, a somewhat specialized direction was given to the course of Turkish events.

The social and historical sciences are beginning to be more keenly aware of the interrelations between social system and intellectual movement. In the past, both history and the social sciences have been guilty of oversimplification. It has been the rare biographer who has given proper weight to the milieu in which a personality moves, while it is similarly troublesome to dismiss the personality as an end product in a cultural configuration, as White does Ikhnaton (1949:233–81). Spengler's argument that *Tasso* would have been written even if Goethe had never been born seems as extreme as a treatment of the German genius' life without reference to the German institutions of the 18th and 19th centuries. Within the framework of a culture, and recognizing that no cultural system is utterly rigid and inflexible, latitude for alternative expression in form or structure, once given, permits redirection and results in channeled modification. The history of ideas and the sociology of knowledge, to use Mannheim's term, especially as factors in the shaping of the ideologies which relate to behavior, are legitimate areas of investigation for anthropology. Turkish nationalism is an ideology, but an understanding of it and of the behavior which results from it saves many false steps in appraising the Turkish position in world affairs or in its relation to Western civilization.

NOTES

[1] An abstract of this paper was read at the fifty-fifth annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Santa Monica, December 29, 1956. Field research in Turkey was conducted June–September, 1954, as director of the Minnesota SPAN (Student Project for Amity among Nations) organization. The thanks of the writer are due the Graduate School, University of Minnesota, for the 1957 award of a Faculty Summer Research Appointment, which has permitted a review of Turkish materials.

[2] Bibliography of the works of Mehmet Ziya Gökalp:

Ziya's works, omitting here the extensive poetry and literary essays, were chiefly in the form of articles. These appeared in a host of journals and newspapers, some anthologized during Ziya's lifetime, others collected and published after his death. A near complete bibliography is available in Tütengil 1949, a long listing is made by Şapolyo (1943:246–69) and a summary given by Heyd (1950:171–3). Simply as an indication of Ziya's interests, the following titles may be listed (so far as the present writer knows, none has been translated):

1918 *Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Muasirlaşmak* (Turkification, Islamization, Modernization). Istanbul.

1923a. *Doğru Yol. Hakimiyeti Milliye ve Umderlerin Tasnif, Tahlil ve Tefsiri.* (The right

way. Classification, analysis, and commentary relating to the bases of national sovereignty. An interpretation of the election system adopted by the Kemalists). Ankara.

1923b. *Türk Türesi*. (Turkish Law, the reference is to the ancient Turks of Asia). Istanbul.

1925 *Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi. (I. İslâmiyetten evvel Türk Medeniyeti.* (The history of Turkish culture. Only the first part, "Turkish Culture before Islam," was published. This work was designed for secondary schools and is still on the required list for this level). Istanbul.

1940 *Türkçülüğün Esaslarî* (The principles of Turkism; written in 1923, lays out the Durkheimian basis of Turkism). Ankara.

In addition, Ziya's lectures in sociology, held at Istanbul, were widely published. These include "General Sociology," "Sociology of Religion," "Sociology of Law," and "Practical Sociology."

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The Mesolithic Continuum in Western Europe

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THE term "Mesolithic" serves to denote basically Paleolithic cultures of early postglacial Europe, representing the period between the final Upper Paleolithic and the introduction of agriculture. Cultural, geological, and radiocarbon dating suggest that something on the order of 8000 to 2500 B.C. spans this era. Changes in climate during this period led to alterations in vegetation and fauna, as seen in the forestation of what had been ice-sheets or tundra and in the replacement of animals more suited to open country—reindeer, mammoth, bison, and horse—by forest animals such as elk, red deer, roe deer, aurochs, and wild boar. In addition to cultural adaptations resulting from forestation, there was the subsequent adaptation to marine environments with their abundance of natural resources.

Microlithic tools had been foreshadowed by Upper Paleolithic bladework, and their almost invariable presence in Mesolithic cultures probably relates to hafting with natural gums and to the widespread adoption of the bow as a weapon. Many microliths were obviously arrowheads, and without pitch or resin their use in composite implements would have been to no advantage. Another industrial feature, reflecting the northward progression of the forests, was the development of woodworking tools—axes, adzes, chisels, and gouges. Antler axe-sleeves were designed to provide "shock-absorbers" for stone axes. Bone and antler were common raw materials for a multitude of other artifacts whose survival is unhappily dependent upon extraordinary conditions for preservation.

The validity of extending "Mesolithic" to microlithic assemblages outside the Eurasiatic forests is questionable upon the basis that "microlithic" is not to be taken as a synonym of "Mesolithic," for we are dealing with a chronological and cultural period representing adaptations to changing environments, and this takes more than microliths into account. In any case, microlithic flintwork continued in many of the succeeding Neolithic cultures. Although the use of the term in any area has been seriously challenged, it has often been employed indiscriminately throughout the Old World. At least for the present, it seems best to limit its application according to the tenets we have set down.

Of all European Mesolithic cultures, those of the Baltic are best defined because of both intensive investigation within a relatively small area and the excellent preservative features of the sites themselves. In spite of this, parallels can be observed in other areas. It must be recognized that there are regional differences based on cultural or ecological factors, but keeping in mind the fact that we can never hope to recreate these cultures and their diversities in totality it is essential that we give proper attention to the broader outlines of

conformity before stressing the variations in type and form. In other words, we might do well to attempt delineating a Mesolithic "base" as a firmer footing for subsequent work. The frequent use of "Capsio-Tardenoisian," "Azilio-Tardenoisian," or "Swiderio-Tardenoisian" indicates that some ties do exist and that terminology too often reflects microlithic typology. Many of the criteria for differentiating Mesolithic cultures rest upon the presumed absence or scarcity of traits in archeological records which are acknowledged to be incomplete, some are based upon relatively slight differences in typology, and others result from the nature of raw materials available (e.g., microliths are not characteristic in the Eastern Baltic because flint was rare).

Since microlithic types are so often abstractions which possibly exist only in the minds of archeologists and really explain very little about the Mesolithic, an extensive exploration of the functional nature of the microlithic types would be relevant in future work. Typological descriptions so far have tended to point up distinctions rather than similarities, and these distinctions call for further justification. One example is the interpretation of trapezoidal and derivative forms as transverse arrowheads, while triangles and crescents, more commonly found in earlier Mesolithic assemblages, could just as easily have been hafted in the same manner. If certain triangles or crescents were utilized in other ways, then one should distinguish them from those which verge upon the trapezoids' function as projectile points.

Among the Mesolithic cultures so far recognized, one of the clearest and most significant demarcations is between earlier hunters and fishermen living primarily in the interior during the Boreal, and later strand-loopers of the Atlantic or Litorina horizon with a way of life geared toward a coastal economy. Although one must admit the possibility of coastal occupations during the Boreal or even the late Pleistocene (most traces of which would have been erased by rising sea levels), this does not discount the maritime nature of many late Mesolithic cultures. The earlier aspect is represented by Azilian, Sauveterrian, early Tardenoisian and Capsian, Maglemosian, and Irish Early Larnian. The marked transition to settlement on the Baltic and Atlantic coasts following the Boreal period is seen from Scandinavia to French West Africa, as illustrated by Ertebølle and related cultures in the Baltic, Scottish Obanian, Irish Late Larnian, Breton Tardenoisian, Spanish Asturian, Portuguese Capsian, and Northwest African "Neolithic of Capsian tradition." In most of these, we find shell middens indicating the economic importance of shellfish gathering. In many, the trapezoidal microlith—a late Mesolithic type tool—is abundant.

The reasons for this change in habitat are not altogether clear. Although Ertebølle sites are believed to have been occupied throughout the year, there is the possibility that some sites were seasonal and therefore reflect seasonal activities. Perhaps climatic amelioration and changes in shore lines at the onset of the Atlantic period had something to do with the popularity of maritime settlement at this time, and depletion of large game animals may also have played a part. The answer may be simply that resources were greater and more

easily exploited on the coasts, especially once such inventions as boats, harpoons, fishhooks, nets, and bird snares had been made. One has only to look at our own Northwest Coast to appreciate the benefits to be derived from maritime life.

A further, if somewhat remote, explanation is that the intrusion of Neolithic food-producing economies into temperate Europe drove hunters toward the coasts. Later Mesolithic cultures throughout Europe had Neolithic contemporaries which eventually displaced or absorbed them. The crucial factor is the assignment of correct dates for the Mesolithic coastal transitions and for Neolithic colonization. Revised chronologies based on radiocarbon data suggest ca. 4000 B.C. for the advent of the Atlantic period (Barendsen et al 1957:917) as well as for the earliest peasant occupations of Central Europe (Childe 1957:37). The first contact between Mesolithic and Neolithic peoples in Scandinavia has been set at about 2700 B.C. (Troels-Smith 1956:876–9), although direct contact is not a necessary prerequisite for population displacements. Neolithic pressures apparently could have been initiated any time after 4000 B.C., and the question is one of dating the various littoral occupations of the Mesolithic.

Since Danish Maglemose and Ertebølle (the "Northern Forest Cultures") are most informative, they can best serve as a foundation for a cursory and generalized analysis of Mesolithic relationships. It has been pointed out often enough that the wealth of material representing these cultures makes the remaining Mesolithic groups appear somewhat anemic, and that the observer may tend to forget why this disparity exists. The answer is of course to be found in the highly favorable conditions for preservation in the Danish bogs, which have yielded organic remains that under most circumstances would have disintegrated completely.

Maglemosian is characterized by (1) a microlithic industry of asymmetrical or irregular geometric forms and microburins, (2) a heavy industry of stone woodworking tools, complemented by many objects of the carpenters' workmanship, (3) an extensive inventory of bone and antler implements and ornaments, and (4) inland settlement with reliance on the flora and fauna of the forests, inland lakes, and streams. Numbers of the bone and antler artifacts are engraved or pitted with geometric designs which probably were of Upper Paleolithic ancestry (Clark 1936:179). The nature of the sites, found from Britain to the USSR., shows they were occupied seasonally by small family groups. Most are no larger than a few square meters, although some produce an illusion of greater size because of successive occupations stratified diagonally rather than horizontally as the result of water encroachment (Becker 1953:181).

Ertebølle was essentially a continuation of Maglemosian with an emphasis upon coastal settlement. Not only does the marine fauna contrast with the inland species from Maglemosian sites but it shows that the "kitchen middens" were occupied throughout the year (Clark 1936:140). Although some new artifacts appeared while others disappeared, many of the differences between the

two cultures are in terms of type frequencies. Microlithic flints were dominated by the trapezoidal forms, adzes were more popular than axes, barbed bone points were cruder, a new type of antler mattock made its debut, and geometric art gradually died out. The assumption that pottery was an Ertebølle invention must be questioned. There is no indisputable evidence that ceramics were present in Scandinavia before the period of Neolithic influence, especially since Troels-Smith (1954) has interpreted typical Ertebølle as semiagricultural. One might best interpret Ertebølle jars as poor imitations of Becker's (1948) type A funnel beakers of the Early Neolithic.

Most significant in Ertebølle was the change to a marine environment with its corresponding alteration in subsistence patterns. Shellfish became the major dietary staple, and the remains of sea mammals and deep-sea fish presumably indicate new hunting and fishing techniques, including increased navigation. In the Eastern Baltic, the same transition has been observed in comparable cultural contexts. The Suomusjärvi culture of Finland's Litorina beaches (Äyräpää 1950), which succeeded Kunda (Maglemosian), could be described as a Finnish version of Ertebølle. In this instance, there are no signs of "Mesolithic" pottery, and slate and quartzite were frequent substitutes for flint (although Russian flint began to be imported). In Estonia, the Võisiku culture (Indreko 1948) parallels Suomusjärvi. Both cultures contributed heavily to the succeeding Pit-Ware complex, much of which remained coastally oriented with far more dependence upon seal-hunting than upon animal husbandry.

Gudenaa (Mathiassen 1937) has a rather tenuous status at present. It is purported to be an independent Mesolithic culture of interior Jutland which overlapped Maglemosian in its initial phases and continued into the Neolithic. From all appearances, there is little except proportions of flint types to distinguish Gudenaa from Maglemosian and Ertebølle. Satisfactory comparisons are impossible, since the material is from open stations where no organic matter has been preserved. Its leading flint types, including both microlithic and macrolithic tools, can be duplicated in either one or both of the other two Danish Mesolithic cultures. In view of the large number of trapezoidal microliths, it may be advisable to treat Gudenaa as an inland aspect of Ertebølle rather than as an independent tradition.

The Komsa industries of Finnmark and the Fosna industries of western Sweden and Norway also are difficult to assess. Both contain microlithic flintwork as well as axes and picks. Again, no bone and antler have been preserved. If Komsa and Fosna were contemporary with Ertebølle (Freundt 1948:53), it is probably best to interpret them as northern coastal extensions of the Baltic cultures and a prelude to the Arctic Stone Age.

Examining very briefly other major Mesolithic cultures in Europe, we find certain recurrent patterns of similarity.

Azilian appears to have been an early Mesolithic culture immediately supplanting Magdalenian and preceding Tardenoisian and perhaps even Sauveterrian in parts of southwestern and central Europe. Its exact relationships with the final Upper Paleolithic and Sauveterrian remain open for further investiga-

tion. Azilian microlithic implements are not unlike those of Sauveterrian in that blades and triangular or crescentic microliths are prominent features. Microburins, which are regarded as "left-overs" from the process of notching blades to control fracturing during the manufacture of microliths, are absent in Azilian. One assumes the Azilian flint-knappers of the early Mesolithic either did not employ this technique or neglected to salvage the microburins as useful engraving tools. The well-known painted pebbles occur only infrequently outside southern France; in northern Spain, nearly every cave with a reasonably thick Magdalenian deposit also contains Azilian—but no pebbles (Almagro 1947:403–8). Although Azilian is vaguely defined as a "forest culture," heavy implements are scarce. Some antler sleeves, one with an inserted axe-blade, have been recovered from Azilian caves in southern Germany (Peters 1934). Objects of bone and antler too often have not been preserved but when present are not out of line with those from the Baltic. The only distinctive artifacts of this nature are the barbed antler points, or harpoons. These are crude in comparison with Maglemosian examples but closely resemble those of Scottish Obanian and the Swiss Mesolithic and Neolithic.

Much of what had been called Tardenoisian in Europe is now being termed Sauveterrian (Clark 1956), which from a general point of view is little more than an earlier stage of Tardenoisian with some differences in types or frequencies of blades and microliths. Within the Sauveterrian-Tardenoisian sequence, as within Capsian, is again seen the same trend from the use of triangular or irregular microliths toward extensive utilization of trapezoids. Capsian and Tardenoisian are very much alike, but whether Tardenoisian was derived from Capsian, or Capsian from Tardenoisian, or both from local Upper Paleolithic groups has yet to be determined. Distributional overlap shows Tardenoisian must have come into contact with most of the other Mesolithic cultures in Western Europe, from Maglemosian in the north to Capsian in the south.

Tardenoisian woodworking tools are not numerous—perhaps as the result of a preference for open country—but more and more recognition is being given the use of heavy implements by these people (Barrière 1955). A distinctive feature at the habitation-workshop of Piscop, Seine-et-Oise, was a stone industry of picks and *pic-planes* (Giraud, Vaché, and Vignard 1938). That this site appears to have been occupied over a fairly long period, in contrast to most Tardenoisian stations, may have had something to do with the presence of a macrolithic element. Because of the picks, Nougier (1950:175) assigns Piscop to his "Campignian forest facies." Two workshops at the "Desert d'Auffargis" in Seine-et-Oise (Robert and Vignard 1945) also had these heavier implements in a Tardenoisian context. Thirty years ago, Kozlowski (1926) reported "mixed" deposits of Tardenoisian microliths and "Campignian" tools from Polish dunes, and Clark (1956:14) mentions an axe-and-adze element combined with a Tardenoisian-like industry in southern and eastern England.

Since only Sauveterrian appears to have been pre-Neolithic in date, it may be that the Tardenoisian hunters were pushed off the loess and out of the

forests where there is little evidence of their existence, and onto the agriculturally less desirable land they more normally occupied. In this case, woodworking tools would have been relatively unnecessary equipment. Azilians, if they really were forest-dwellers, might then represent the earlier forest hunters who disappeared before the Neolithic period. The Maglemosians, living in a peripheral area, continued to depend upon the forests until much later. This interpretation naturally must be regarded as a speculative one.

Because of the very nature of the sites (usually open-air), artifacts other than those of stone are rarely obtained, and this imposes severe limitations on our perspective of Tardenoisian technology. The small selection of bone, antler, and boar's tusk artifacts—awls, pins, gorges, daggers, scrapers, perforated teeth, and occasional antler axes—reveals nothing foreign to Maglemose and Ertebølle. Although barbed bone or antler points are not typical in terms of the number found, they are known in Russian Tardenoisian (Gimbutas 1956:16), and several have been recovered recently from Swiss Tardenoisian, where they duplicate Azilian, Obanian, and Swiss Early Neolithic (Cortaillod) forms (Bandi and Lüdin 1955). Vogt (1952) reports finding a stray barbed bone point in a Lucerne museum which is very like certain Maglemose types and is almost certainly Mesolithic in date. Clark (1936:231 and 237) cites stray finds of Maglemose-type barbed or slotted bone points from France and Belgium. It is conceivable that form is once more a reflection of material, since there is a general tendency for bone points to be more refined than those made of antler. Most of the cruder Azilian, Tardenoisian, and Cortaillod harpoons are of this latter material.

Within the Tardenoisian family was a coastal group of strand-loopers living on shell middens on Téviec and Hoëdic islands off Brittany. Téviec (Péquart, Péquart, Boule, and Vallois 1937) is most famous for its remarkable rock-built tombs, a unique occurrence within the Mesolithic. However, these collective tombs in conjunction with trapezoidal arrowheads and the molar of a sheep or goat suggest a late Mesolithic date, contradicting the opinion that the island was occupied in pre-Neolithic times. At least some of the dead were interred wearing antler headdresses (Péquart and Péquart 1929:399), which were recovered also from the British Maglemose site at Star Carr, Yorkshire (Clark 1954). Only a few pieces of bone were engraved, but these had linear and geometric designs such as one might find in the Baltic. Hoëdic (Péquart and Péquart 1954) revealed very much the same situation, although the graves were less elaborate and the organic materials less well preserved.

These maritime sites continue into the Iberian peninsula, where Asturian and Capsian middens have been discovered. In the Tagus river valley of Portugal there are huge shell heaps which accumulated at a time when sea level was higher than it is now (Ribeiro 1880; Mendes-Correa 1934). Scattered about in these middens are numbers of bone and flint artifacts, including well-made trapezoidal arrowheads. Bodies were buried near the base of the middens in squatting or extended positions, as they were at Téviec. Although most Spanish and Portuguese archeologists assign these sites to Capsian, Obermaier

(1924:326) has stated: "This final Capsian phase is in all essential points identical with the Tardenoisian of France."

In the Cantabrian area of Spain is the Asturian culture, which appears in coastal caves and rock shelters choked up with shell mounds. The meager cultural remains are dominated by the "Asturian pick" made of a quartzite pebble. The industry is so poor that comparisons with other maritime cultures is difficult, but chronologically it overlaps the Neolithic. Bone or antler tools are limited to bone punches for opening shells and occasional perforated antlers (*bâton de commandement*). No human remains occur in the debris.

The Obanian culture of southwest Scotland has been consistently classified as Azilian on the basis of its barbed harpoons and little else (see, for example, the new edition of Boule and Vallois' *Fossil Men*, p. 335). It has become increasingly clear that Obanian affinities lie predominantly with the Baltic Mesolithic, and the antler axe-hammers, or mattocks, found on the Firth of Forth to the east suggest subsequent investigation will bring to light similar settlements on the other side of Scotland. Obanian, like Ertebølle, belongs to the Atlantic horizon and reveals an economy of a maritime type. Although land animals were hunted, the large numbers of sea mammals, sea birds, and deep-sea fish (Lacaille 1954:Table V) illustrate the dependence on marine resources. Microliths are absent, as in Northern Ireland, but there is a heavy industry of picks, axes, and adzes. Examination of Obanian material in the Scottish National Museum, Edinburgh, shows that certain antler objects were perforated mattocks like those from the Firth of Forth.

The Larnian occupations of Northern Ireland are divisable into two aspects, Early and Late, placed in the Boreal and Atlantic periods respectively. An "advanced Early Larnian" penetrated southwest Scotland according to the evidence at Campbeltown and Albyn Distillery. There appear to be some relationships between the stone industries of Larnian and Obanian (Movius 1953:94), but the lack of organic materials in Larnian sites prevents further correlations from being established. Microliths again play no part in the assemblages, while picks and axes were very important. It seems certain that the absence of bone and antler tools is the result of inadequate preservation. Most importantly, there was a shift from a forest-fenland environment (Early Larnian) to a coastal one (Late Larnian) during the Boreal-Atlantic transition (Movius 1942:172).

SUMMARY

The Northern Forest Cultures are characterized by a vast east-west distribution from Scotland to the Soviet Union, and a number of elements from this culture-area appear to have ultimately reached eastern North America (Spaulding 1946). Under these circumstances, it seems reasonable to expect some unity between the Baltic cultures and other Mesolithic cultures of Europe. It may be assumed that the apparent dissimilarities are due largely to the sparsity of information available outside Scandinavia and the British Isles.

Nevertheless, considerable continuity is indicated by comparable microlithic and/or macrolithic flintwork, bone and antler artifacts, and ecological adaptations in general. This summary treatment of the Mesolithic creates the impression that these different traditions are but local or chronogical variants within a Mesolithic continuum best exemplified at this time by the Northern Forest Cultures.

A final argument for Mesolithic continuity in temperate Europe is supplied by post-Danubian I cultures in Western and Central Europe, for several employed not only Tardenoisian blade and microlithic flintwork but other Mesolithic artifact types as well, and many of these found in a Mesolithic context would be termed Baltic rather than Tardenoisian. Ertebølle-type socketed antler "axes" occur in central Germany (Rössen, Jordansmühl), Hungary (Lengyel), and Poland (Brzesc Kujawski) in Danubian II–III assemblages, and ulna daggers—typical of Ertebølle—are frequently encountered in France, Germany, and Switzerland, Barbed bone or antler points, gorges, and Maglemose-type barbless fishhooks illustrate the continued importance of fishing in the same area. Antler picks and axe-sleeves are integral parts of many Neolithic assemblages. Decoration of bone and antler by the Maglemose method of pricking or drilling geometric designs continued not only in the Northern Neolithic but also in several Neolithic cultures of Belgium, France, Switzerland, and central Germany. "Campignian" axes and picks are typical of the Western European Neolithic and typologically duplicate those of the Northern Forest Cultures, representing the carry-over of flint-mining traditions (Gabel 1957). In an indirect manner, all the Mesolithic traits appearing in Neolithic cultures give us some insight into the ill-defined Mesolithic period of these areas. The most economic hypothesis is that these traits, absent from the purely agricultural Danubian I sites, were adopted from Mesolithic technologies by the Neolithic colonists who gradually absorbed indigenous populations or that they were retained by food-collectors turned food-producers.

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Dialect Differences and Social Stratification in a North Indian Village[1]

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IT IS generally recognized that dialect differences exist in every large speech community. When these differences are minor and do not appreciably affect mutual intelligibility, they are disregarded for most purposes of linguistic description. Areas in which there are no significant linguistic barriers are thus ordinarily said to contain speakers of a single language or dialect. However, detailed studies by dialectologists of the distribution of minor speech variants have shown that these are not idiosyncratic, as had been assumed by some, but are patterned and socially determined.

Leonard Bloomfield postulates a direct relationship between linguistic diversity and the amount of verbal interaction among individual members of a community.[2] The model he provides is quite similar to the sociogram of the modern social psychologist. He states:

> The most important differences of speech within a community are due to differences in the density of communication . . . . Imagine a huge chart with a dot for every speaker in the community and imagine that every time any speaker uttered a sentence, an arrow were drawn into the chart pointing from his dot to the dot representing each one of his hearers. At the end of a given period of time, say 70 years, that chart would show us the density of communication in the community . . . . We believe that the differences in communication are not only personal and individual but that the community is divided into various systems of subgroups, such that the persons within a subgroup speak much more to each other than to persons outside their subgroup . . . . Subgroups are separated by lines of weakness in this net of oral communication. These lines are local, due to mere geographical distribution and non-local or as we say social.

If this model is valid, then investigations into the relations of speech differences to other types of social interaction should be of great interest to students of social structure. Work in this field, however, is still in its beginnings.[3]

The first systematic attempts to formulate relationships along the above lines were made by McDavid (1946, 1948, 1951). His data were drawn from the field records of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States, a geographical survey aimed primarily at collecting data for historical studies, but which used a sample drawn from the upper, middle, and lower strata of American society. The distribution of the dialect differences discovered was found to be determined by social as well as geographical factors. McDavid suggests that these social speech styles reflect what he calls "social tensions" such as those existing between Negroes and whites, Catholics and non-Catholics, and others in northern industrial communities. The field methods and sampling of the Linguistic Atlas have recently been severly criticized on grounds of reliability and

validity (Pickford 1956), but this does not destroy their usefulness in providing leads for more detailed studies.

A recent study of the relations of dialect differences to social structure in Mexico City makes an effort to avoid some of the methodological shortcomings of the Atlas (Sapon 1953). The community is divided into ten status groups, using Warner's Index of Status Characteristics, and the linguistic sample was drawn from each of the groups. The results have not yet been published.

The present study was done, in cooperation with a team of social scientists, in Khalapur, a relatively small, highly stratified North Indian village community.[4] Linguistic differences were determined from a sample of the most important caste groups in the village and the results are compared with anthropological information collected through day-by-day observation over a period of two and a half years.

In discussing language distribution in the Hindi speaking area of Northern India, it is convenient to distinguish three forms of speech (Gumperz 1957). At the local level there are the village dialects, which vary from village to village. In the small market centers, a form of speech is current which avoids many of the divergent local features and is relatively uniform over a large area; this is the regional dialect. The third form, Standard Hindi, is used most widely in larger cities such as Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow. It is native only to certain groups which have traditionally been city residents; others speak some regional dialect. The amount of difference between the above three forms varies. There are many regions where at least two of the three are mutually unintelligible, but in others the three are relatively close.

The speech of the region around Khalapur is Khaṛi Boli, a subdialect of Western Hindi. It is a transition dialect between the Bangaṛu of Karnal and the Khari Boli of Merut (Grierson 1916; Gumperz 1958), relatively close to Standard Hindi and mutually intelligible with it. The Khalapur village dialect is readily understood by speakers of the regional dialect. However, persons who control only Standard Hindi often have difficulty in following the local village idiom.

Most male residents, especially those who travel considerably, speak both the village and the regional dialect. The former is used in the home and with other local residents, and the latter is employed with people from the outside. Educated people and some who have spent much time in larger cities speak Standard Hindi, although they employ the local idiom at home.

The present analysis deals with the village dialect only. Differences occur on the phonological and lexical level, but only phonological variants are used in the grouping of subdialects. This has not been the practice in the past. Previous studies employ lexical as well as phonological and morphological criteria and do little in the way of structural analysis. There are a number of reasons in favor of the present approach. Phonological features lend themselves to classification according to the degree of structural relevance and thus provide a reliable tool for estimating the importance of a particular difference.[5] They are automatic and more closely imbedded in our habit pattern than

lexical items, and are therefore less subject to change when in contact with variant dialect forms. Furthermore they present less difficulty in obtaining reliable responses, since forms can be elicited without the informant being aware of which features interest the linguist. With lexical data, on the other hand, each item is of the same importance as the other. There is a further problem in eliciting, since it is often difficult to determine which of two alternate forms is most frequently used.

Khalapur is located in Saharanpur District of Uttar Pradesh, in the Gangetic plain between the Ganges and Jumna rivers, about 80 miles north of Delhi and three miles west of the Saharanpur-Delhi road. The inhabitants are divided into 31 endogamous caste or *jati* groups,[6] 90 percent Hindu and 10 percent Muslim, which may be ranked hierarchically along a scale according to ritual status. Each group ranks either high or low with respect to any of the others; no two have equal status. At the top of this ritual caste hierarchy are the *Brahmans*, *Rajputs* (Warrior-Rulers) and *Vaishyas* (Merchants), the twice-born castes according to the traditional *varna* system. They are followed by a large group of middle castes, mostly artisans and laborers. The three lowest ranking groups are the *Chamars*, a group of landless laborers, *Jatia Chamars*, or Leatherworkers, and *Bhangis* or Sweepers. These will be referred to as untouchables to distinguish them from the majority or touchable group. The Muslims also belong to several castes, all of which rank fairly low ritually. The most important of these are Muslim Rajputs and Oil Pressers.

The village population is about five thousand. Forty-two percent of the population is Rajput; Chamars are next with twelve percent, and after that come Brahmans with five percent. The remaining 28 caste groups make up the rest. Of the other castes mentioned in this study, Sweepers have four percent, Leatherworkers two percent, *Chamar Julahas* (one of the three weaving castes) two percent, Muslim Rajputs two percent, Oil Pressers three percent.

The Rajputs, both Muslim and Hindu, are the dominant caste.[7] They own more than 90 percent of the land and wield most of the political power. Brahmans are accorded first rank with respect to ritual status, but are second to the Rajputs and some of the Merchants with respect to wealth and actual prestige.

The residential area of the village is divided into seven geographical subdivisions, or paṭṭis,[8] related to lineage groups among Rajputs. Most Rajput residents of a paṭṭi hold land in the same area. Members of non-Rajput castes are said to belong to the paṭṭi of the families who own or used to own the land on which they live.

In selecting informants for the study, care was taken to choose only people who were willing to use the village and not the regional dialect. All informants were male. They were either illiterate or could read only with great difficulty. Students of the Inter-College, which is located in the village, and people who regularly read newspapers or books, were not interviewed. Two or more informants were used from each of the 18 castes having more than one percent of the village population.[9] In the case of Rajputs and other large groups with

settlements in several parts of the village, informants from each of the settlements were used.

The following methodology was employed for the collection of linguistic data. As a first step, the phonemic structure of the village dialect was determined from the speech of one informant. The statements were checked for completeness with several other informants, and notes were kept on any dialect differences found. These notes were expanded by observations made in informal conversations with a wide variety of villagers on topics not connected with the linguistic study. A questionnaire was then prepared on the basis of the notes. The information obtained from this questionnaire was analyzed and a series of hypotheses was drawn up regarding dialect distribution. These hypotheses were again tested over a period of several months through informal observation of the speech of all caste groups concerned. A number of tape recordings of village speech were also made.

The linguistic data were supplemented by a series of interviews with a cross-section of informants for the purpose of determining the extent to which villagers are aware of the caste differences in speech and the function of the differences in determining caste status. Information from these interviews is presented along with the list of differences.

The dialect has the following inventory of phonemes:[10]

Consonants:	labial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	p b	t d		ṭ ḍ	c j	k g	
spirants			s				h
sonorants:							
nasals	m	n		ṇ			
laterals		l		ḷ			
		r(trill)		r(flap)			

Vowels:	front	central	back
high	i		u
	ɪ		ʊ
mid	e	o	
	æ	ɔ	
low		a	

Diphthongs: aɪ, uɪ, oɪ, uɔ — Nasalization: ˜
Word juncture: (space) — Stress: ˈˌ

The system used for classification of dialect differences was outlined in an earlier article (Gumperz 1958). Differences in the village are of three types: (1) differences in phonemic distribution statable in terms of phonological environment; (2) etymological differences, i.e., those differences in distribution that hold true only for certain lists of cognate items; and (3) phonetic differences, i.e., those that do not affect distribution of phonemes. The term Standard is used to indicate the majority speech; other forms are referred to as variants. The following differences occur:

1. Differences in phonemic distribution

The Standard has contrasts between simple vowels /a/, /u/, /o/ and diphthongs /aɪ/, /uɪ/, /oɪ/ before consonants. Members of the Sweeper caste do not have this contrast:

Standard	Variant	
1. /baɪl/	/bal/	ear of corn
2. /lal/	—	red
3. /jhuɪl/	/jhul/	cattle blanket
4. /phul/	—	flower
5. /khoɪr/	/khor/	cattle trough
6. /mor/	—	peacock

In word final position, however, the above diphthongs may occur in the speech of all villagers: Standard and Sweepers /khaɪ/ eat (inflected stem).

2. Etymological differences

(a) Occurrence of /ə/ and /ʊ/ before stressed vowel in the next syllable in certain forms:

Standard	Variant	
1. /kʊrélṇa/	/kərélṇa/	(to) shovel
2. /dʊtə́i/	/dətə́i/	blanket
3. /mʊṇḍássa/	/məṇḍássa/	head cloth
4. /khʊréra/	/khəréra/	cattle brush
5. /nʊláṇa/	/nəláṇa/	(to) weed
6. /pʊcháṇa/	/pɔcháṇa/	(to) send
7. dʊpéṭṭa/~/dəpə́ṭṭa/	—	turban
8. /dʊphéra/~/dəphéra/	—	noon
9. /kʊpás/~/kəpás/	—	cotton
10. /ləgám/	/lʊgám/	bridle
11. /dəláṇ	/dʊláṇ/	a type of village building
12. /bətáu/	/bʊtáu/	a condition of the soil

In examples one to six, the Standard has /ʊ/. In seven and eight, all informants show free variation between /ə/ and /ʊ/ forms; both are therefore part of the Standard. In ten to twelve, the Standard has only /ə/.

Many Chamars and most of the Shoemakers have /ə/ in all the above forms Among the Chamars, however, the /ə/ pronunciation is considered "old fashioned" and has low prestige. Many members of the caste use /ʊ/ throughout, even in forms ten to twelve where the Standard has /ə/. Their speech therefore remains distinct in spite of their apparent efforts to adapt to the Standard.

The nonstandard use of /ʊ/ and /ə/ in these and similar examples is recognized by villagers as one of the distinguishing marks of Chamar speech. Most of the informants interviewed in regard to attitudes toward language forms, when asked who uses forms like /dətə́i/, blanket, laughed and said, "That is Chamar speech." Two Chamar leaders evidenced a great deal of emotion on hearing the form. They did not answer the question, but entered into long

explanations to the effect that Chamars have hitherto been denied educational opportunities by the higher castes.

(b) /ɪ/ and /ə/ in certain forms before nonfinal single consonant or consonant cluster plus stressed vowel:

Standard	Variant	
1. /rɪpɔ́ṭ/	/rəpɔ́ṭ/	(to) slip (stem)
2. /bɪchṇɔ́a/	bəchɔ́ṇa	blanket
3. /sɪluár/	/səluár/	pajama for women
4. /rɪjéi/	/rəjéi/	comforter
5. /bɪṭɔ́ra/	/bəṭɔ́ra/	stack of dung cakes
6. /sɪkháṇa/	/səkháṇa/	(to) teach
7. /pɪchórṇa/	/pəchórṇa/	(to) sift grain
8. /bɪnɔ́la/	/bənɔ́la/	cotton seed

Many people have free variation between /ɪ/ and /ə/ in the above forms. The /ə/ forms have low prestige, especially in the last three examples. The frequency of these forms is highest among the untouchable castes. The use of /ə/ is generally regarded as a sign of "old fashioned" or "ignorant people's" speech, although it is not necessarily characteristic of low caste status. The particular informants who used these old fashioned pronunciations regularly were characterized as "backward" and "ignorant" also with respect to other nonlinguistic matters. Other informants used them occasionally in extremely informal situations, but when asked to repeat they gave /ɪ/ forms.

Field records from another village twenty miles to the north indicate that there /ə/ is used by most Rajputs in the above items. Thus it seems that the /ə/ pronunciations have lost prestige and are going out of use in Khalapur, while they remain as the prestige forms in other areas. There is no similar evidence for /ʊ/ and /ə/.

(c) Accented /æ/ and /ɔ/ in certain words of the type CVCCV and CVCV:

Standard	Variant	
1. /ǽsa/	/ɔ́sa/	like this
2. /kǽsa/	/kɔ́sa/	how
3. /bǽngaṇ/	/bɔ́ngaṇ/	brinjal
4. /bǽṭṭho/	/bɔ́ṭṭho/	visit

Chamars, Shoemakers and Sweepers have /ɔ́/ in these forms.

(d) Nasalized and oral vowels:

Standard	Variant	
1. /ik/	/ĩk/	sugar cane
2. /júa/	/jṹa/	joke
3. /khat/	/khāt/	cot

Untouchables of all three castes have nasalized /ɪ̃/ /ã/ /ũ/.

Higher castes consider features (c) and (d) as indications of untouchable speech. Some of the more educated Chamars have begun to use /æ/ in the words given in (c); however, they tend to relapse into their old habits in unguarded moments.

(e) /m/ and /ũ/ in words of the type CəũVC where V stands for /a/ or /aɪ/:

Standard	Variant	
1. /dəũáɪn̩/	/damáɪn̩/	head of a cot
2. /jəũáɪn̩/	/jamáɪn̩/	a spice

Chamars and Shoemakers have /m/ in these words, all others use the Standard forms. Field records for a village in Karnal District, Punjab, show the /m/ pronunciations in a number of forms where Khalapur village has only ˜. This seems to indicate that the situation is similar to that of /ə/ in 2b; /m/ is being replaced by /ũ/.

(f) Alternation between medial nasal plus consonant clusters and single consonants, double consonants or consonant clusters:

Standard	Variant	
1. /d̩hɪdáɪn̩/	/d̩hindáɪn̩/	a grass
2. /kíkkər/	/kínkər/	a tree
3. /əkkás/	/ənkás/	sky
4. /sáṭṭi/	/sáṇṭi/	a type of rice
5. /gánna/	/gáṇda/	cane
6. /lóbṛi/	/lómṛi/	fox

There is a great deal of free variation between the two sets in all castes. The variants are regarded as signs of uneducated speech and are more frequent among old fashioned and untouchable speakers.

(g) Relative position of consonants in certain words. The following are the alternants:

Standard	Variant	
1. /mə́tləb/	/mə́tbəl/	meaning
2. /rəjbháɪa/	/rəbjháɪa/	irrigation canal
3. /bəkhóra/	/əbkhóra/	torch
4. /jəʊáɪn̩/	/əjʊáɪn̩/	a spice

Variants are considered uneducated speech and are used largely by the old fashioned and untouchable groups. An interesting hypercorrect form, /nisán/ for standard /ɪnsán/, man, appears in one of the Chamar field records.

3. Phonetic differences

(a) The allophone of /æ/ in word final position in utterances such as /kəræ/ he does; /ghər tæ/ from home, /hæ/ is, is [æ] in the Standard. The variant [əᵛ] is used by the Shoemakers. It was also heard in free conversation from one old Chamar. The [əᵛ] pronunciation is the prevalent pronunciation in several neighboring villages where the dominant castes are Jat and Tyagi.

The [əᵛ] could also be analyzed as an allophone of the phoneme /ə/. This would change the difference between the Shoemaker speech and the Standard to one in phonemic distribution. In comparative studies of this kind, however, just as in comparative historical studies, it is useful to talk of phonemic differences only when there is no other possible analysis.

(b) Allophones of /ə/, /a/, /o/ and /u/. Before the consonants /h, r, l,

r, d, n, ṇ, ḍ/ followed by /i/ or /e/, allophones of /ə/ appear in three degrees of tongue height: low, medium, and high. Allophones of /a/, /o/, and /u,/ in this same environment show three degrees of phonetic diphthongization. Members of the Sweeper caste have the low allophone of /ə/ and undiphthongized [a] [o] [u] in these environments. With residents of C and G paṭṭi /ə/ has the high allophone [ɪ] and /a/ /u/ and /o/ are fronted and are followed by strong upglides [a<ᵉ], [u<ᴵ], [o<ᵉ]. All other villagers have [ɜl with medium tongue height as the allophone of /ə/ and the offglides of the /a/, /o/ and /u/ allophones are lower and less pronounced. In each case, tongue height and offglide are slightly lower before /e/ than before /i/. Some examples of items in which these allophonic variations occur are:

1. /də̀ri/	rug	5. /cúḍhe/	sweepers
2. /ghə̀ṇi/	much	6. /suṇhi/	broom
3. /pə́ṭṭi/	village subdivision	7. /bóri/	sack
4. /mhára/	my (pl.)		

The Sweeper pronunciation in these items is closest to Standard Hindi and is characterized as *saaf*, "refined," by villagers. The pronunciation of C and G paṭṭi villagers is considered somewhat uncouth, and Rajputs from other parts of the village cite it as evidence for the fact that these people are somewhat backward. The field notes show that a few other Rajputs used pronunciations similar to those of C and G in very informal situations. However, all these informants reverted to the Standard when asked to repeat the utterance.

On the basis of the preceding list of phonological speech differences, we may distinguish six linguistic groups or subgroups in the village:

A. The majority group of speakers of the Standard, consisting of all Hindu and Muslim touchable castes, except for "old fashioned" persons and Rajput residents of paṭṭis C and G.

B. Rajput residents of C and G paṭṭis, distinguished from Group A by the phonetic features of 3b.

C. "Old fashioned" individuals of all touchable castes, characterized by the etymological differences of 2b, 2d, 2g.

D. Chamars, who share most of the characteristics of group C and in addition show the etymological differences of 2a, 2c, 2e, and 2f.

E. Shoemakers, with characteristics similar to those of the Chamars except for the features mentioned in 2a. In addition they have the phonetic features of 3a and 3b.

F. Sweepers. This group is distinguished from all the rest by the difference in phonemic distribution of 1 and the phonetic difference of 2b. It further shares differences 2b, 2c, 2d, 2f, and 2g with groups D and E.

There are also a number of lexical differences. Each of the larger castes has a special vocabulary referring to items of its subculture not shared by others. The vocabulary of Hindus and Muslims also differs, especially in regard to items of clothing, cooking utensils, and food. A detailed consideration

of these differences is beyond the scope of this paper However, it is interesting to point out that Hindu-Muslim speech differences in Khalapur are of the same order as those between individual touchable castes and certainly much less important than the variation between touchables and untouchables. In other areas of India the gap between Hindu and Muslim speech is said to be much larger.

Of the above phonological groups, F is the most divergent, since it is set apart by a phonemic difference. It is most similar to the regional dialect, which also has no contrast between simple vowels and diphthongs before consonants and shares the allophonic features of 3a. The differences between A, B, and C are relatively minor and the same is true for those between D and E.

Villagers show awareness of some but not all of the dialect differences listed. Certain forms are labelled as Chamar speech and the Sweeper idiom is said to be "refined," but the divergences between Chamar and Shoemaker speech are not usually recognized. Rajputs occasionally refer to a caste brother by the expression "he speaks like a Chamar." By this they refer to the fact that the person curses considerably and uses uncouth words, rather than to his pronunciation.

Dialect A functions as the prestige dialect. The replacement of /ə/ by /ʊ/ in 2a, /ə/ by /ɪ/ in 2b, and /ə/ by /æ/ in 2c show the efforts of minority groups to imitate it. The field records also show one instance of a Sweeper using the Standard allophone [a^ᵉ] for /a/ in the word /bari/, cotton (see 3b). The normal Sweeper pronunciation [a] was recorded for the same speaker in a conversation with a caste brother. It is interest to note here that a form which is closer to the regional dialect is given up in favor of a divergent form. Dialect studies made in other countries usually show displacement of local forms by the regional dialect.

Speech differences like those found in Khalapur may arise in the course of normal linguistic development. Language habits are constantly in a state of flux. Just as fashions come and go, new linguistic forms are acquired and old ones are dropped. Under the conditions of communication prevalent in most Western rural communities, where, to use Bloomfield's term, the "density of communication" is relatively uniform, one would expect a form adopted in one sector either to disappear within a relatively short time or to be adopted by the entire group. If, however, there is a break in communication, the spreading of forms from one sector to the other will be delayed, thus giving rise to subdialects. The speech differences between groups A and D might have arisen in this way. The fact that Chamars and Shoemakers share all the features of old fashioned speech and show traces of forms still prevalent in other parts of the area, seem to indicate that they are more conservative than the other subdialects. Dialect A would then be the innovating dialect.

The Sweeper speech does not seem to fit into this pattern, as there is no indication that the village dialect ever had the features of 1 and 3b. Since the majority of Sweeper men have spent much of their life in the cities and army camps, one possible explanation is that they brought in the new forms after

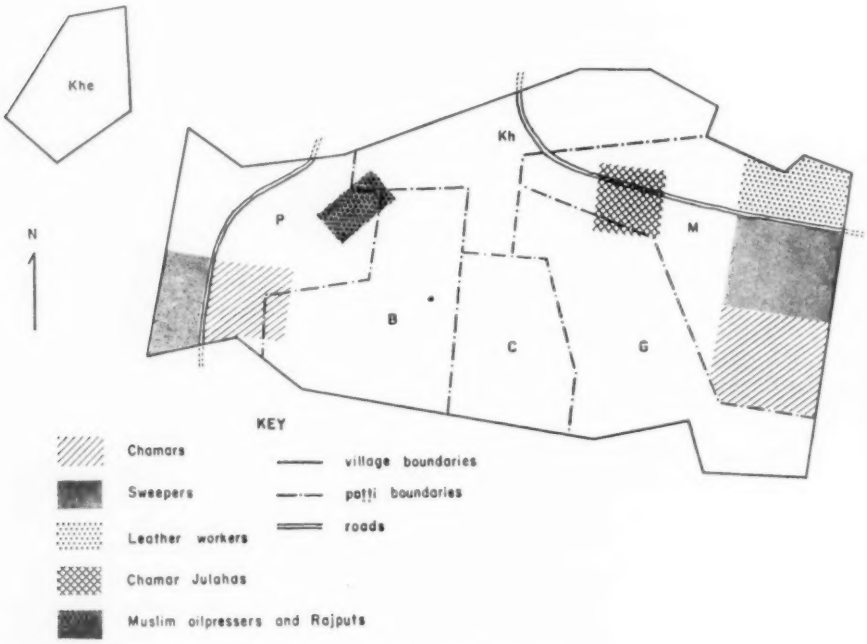
their absence from the village. If this were so, it would be difficult to explain the retention of other divergent low-caste forms such as those of 2b, 2c, 2d, 2f, and 2g which are not found in the regional dialect. Replacement of the diphthongs in the items of 1 would involve the loss of a phonemic contrast. Historical linguistic studies indicate that this is much more difficult to achieve than the process of replacing a phoneme in certain words by another already in the system, which is all that would be required for the elimination of variants in category two. The Sweepers, furthermore, are not the only group that finds employment outside. Many of the Shoemakers spend several years of apprenticeship in neighboring bazaar towns. Children of higher castes are often educated outside. Merchants make weekly trips to the bazaar and sometimes spend weeks and months outside the village. The common practice is for villagers returning from outside to revert to village speech, no matter what their level of education. There are interview data to show that people are ridiculed and accused of "taking on airs" if they use the regional dialect at home. A more likely explanation for the Sweeper dialect is that it was brought in when the group settled in the village. Evidence from genealogies indicates that the present Sweeper group immigrated from elsewhere a little more than a hundred years ago.

An accurate determination of the origin of the various variants requires a great deal more comparative data about dialects in the entire area than are available now. From a sociological point of view, however, the origin of the dialect differences is less important than the fact that they have maintained themselves in this relatively small community for such a long time. Genealogical evidence indicates that the village population has been fairly stable for more than a hundred years. Aside from a slow turnover among the lower castes, there has been no large scale immigration. The common marriage pattern is village exogamy, but this applies equally to all castes. It might therefore be useful to look for other factors in the social system which might tend to create or preserve speech differences. The following are considered: residential patterns, ritual purity, work or economic contact, informal adult friendship, and children's play-groups.

The map gives a schematic representation of the residential patterns. Touchable castes occupy the main part of the village. Members of a particular caste tend to be grouped together in housing clusters. Most of the larger castes occupy a number of such clusters in different sections, but their quarters are not really segregated. In the last fifty years the village has expanded greatly beyond its former boundaries; new Rajput residences have sprung up in what formerly were cattle compounds or grazing grounds, and habitations of other service castes have grown up around them. The untouchable quarters formerly were some distance away, but because of the recent expansion they have begun to merge with the village itself. However, untouchable housing is still largely confined to separate sections. The Sweepers and Chamars each have two quarters at opposite ends of the village. The Shoemaker settlement is in M paṭṭi near the Sweeper quarter.

Differences in ritual purity are evidenced by prohibitions concerning the following practices: touching the other person or his children, touching or approaching his cooking hearth, his cooking utensils or charpoy, and accepting either fried, boiled, or uncooked food from him. Each caste has a slightly different set of prohibitions, which is more or less extreme depending on the level of the other caste in the hierarchy. The lower the position of a particular caste, the greater is the number of castes from whom boiled food is accepted.

A tentative ranking, based on social-distance interviews with members of 22 castes concerning prohibitions of the above type, shows the following



Outline Map of Khalapur

rough groupings: High castes are those from whom all others take boiled food and allow touching of clay utensils. Middle castes may touch brass utensils and offer fried food and water. Lower middle castes are those from whom one does not take food but whose touch is not polluting. In the case of the untouchables, the entire set of prohibitions holds. The Chamars, Shoemakers, and Sweepers, i.e., those castes referred to as untouchables in this paper, are clearly at the bottom of the hierarchy. The status of Muslims, including Muslim Rajputs and of Chamar Julahas (one of the three weaving castes) is somewhat intermediate between untouchable and lower middle. Many villagers state that they do mind their touch and would not let them use the village wells. In practice, however, they are known to use these wells. They live among other castes (see map) and are integrated into the regular neighborhood

patterns of borrowing of implements and social intercourse. The distinction between high and middle castes is also somewhat vague. Brahmans and Rajputs are clearly at the top, but the status of Merchants, Goldsmiths, and Bhaats, a lower group of Brahmans, is intermediate between that of high and middle castes.

The ritual prohibitions also operate among the untouchable castes. Chamars do not accept food from Sweepers and Shoemakers. Some Sweepers are less strict and accept food from Chamars, especially those who perform services for them, but this practice is looked down upon by other members of the Sweeper group.

There are some interview data to suggest that in the past the separateness of the untouchables has been forcefully maintained by the higher castes. Shoemaker women, for example, report having been prevented by Rajputs from wearing ornaments and clothes similar to those of the Rajput women. Attempts to imitate Rajput speech might also have been discouraged for fear of incurring the displeasure of the higher castes. This explanation, however, would not account for the linguistic diversity among the three untouchable groups.

Work or economic contacts may be of the employer-employee or of the vendor-customer type. The former involve close day-to-day contacts and require a great deal of verbal communication, while in the latter contact is limited to occasional short periods. The majority of employers are Rajputs, Brahmans, and Merchants. Among the artisan castes, including Shoemakers, some members work at their profession in their own homes or rent land and thus have little contact with outsiders; others serve as farm laborers. The great majority of the Chamars either work as farm hands or as day laborers in construction work, where they are constantly together with members of other castes. Among Sweepers, women devote most of the day to cleaning the houses and cattle compounds of the village, and much of that time is consumed in gossiping with and listening to the conversations of their employers. Men used to work in the cities. At present, most of them earn their living as occasional agricultural laborers, and few also do cleaning work similar to that of the women. Chamars and Sweepers thus seem to have the greatest amount of work contacts with other castes.

Informal contacts occur in children's play groups and in adult intercaste friendships. Among the touchable children, play groups are formed on a neighborhood rather than a caste basis. If the neighborhood is exclusively Rajput, play groups will be limited to Rajputs; in intercaste neighborhoods, however, children from all resident castes may play together. Some groups observed playing in the streets or on certain ceremonial occasions were found to include Rajputs, Brahmins, Carpenters, Muslim Oil Pressers, Watercarriers, Potters, and others, but untouchable children were not observed in any of the groups.

Studies of informal friendships among adults show that while friendships tend to be primarily within the caste, intercaste friendships are by no means rare. There are a number of instances of close personal relationships between

Rajputs and Brahmins, Rajputs and Merchants, Goldsmiths and Rajputs, Muslin and Hindu Rajputs. Among the middle castes, where each group has relatively few members, this type of intercaste contact is even more frequent. Since only caste fellows can share the same *hukka* (waterpipe), many people keep special hukkas for their friends from other castes. A number of stores, artisan's shops, and cattle compounds serve as regular centers for informal intercaste neighborhood gatherings. In these gatherings it is common to smoke the *chilam*, a clay pipe which can be shared with other castes. Women of different castes also visit each other frequently. There is one active religious sect in the village, the Kabir Panti sect, which has members belonging to Muslim, Rajput, Weaver, Carpenter, Potter, and Merchant castes; the leader of this group is a Potter.

Among the three untouchable castes, each group forms a more or less self-contained unit with its own well or water pumps. Each of the residential quarters is shut off not only from the touchable castes but also from the adjoining quarters of other untouchable groups. In M paṭṭi, for example, the Chamar and Sweeper quarters adjoin, but they are separated by walls. To go from one to another it is necessary to make a detour through the main village lane. While among the touchables, mens' quarters are open to view from the lane and hukka groups often congregate on the road or in the square, similar groups among untouchables meet inside the quarter, where they are not exposed to view from other sections of the population. Contacts with members of other untouchable castes tend to be formal rather than informal. There are no informal neighborhood gatherings. Intercaste friendships exist but are much rarer than among touchables. Children keep to themselves and do not form intercaste playgroups; they either stay within their quarter or accompany their parents to work. Sweeper boys and girls guard the pigs which scavenge in the village lanes and around refuse piles, but wherever they are, they keep to themselves.

The anthropological data provide some interesting information on relations with Rajputs from other paṭṭis of Rajput residents of Kh paṭṭi, who enjoy great prestige and have more contact with the outside officials. A questionnaire which was administered to half the family heads in Kh paṭṭi included the following questions: (a) what persons do you sit with most often? (b) of these, which is your best friend? (c) with whom do you exchange labor or bullocks or agricultural implements? A sociogram constructed from the answers to this questionnaire shows a smaller number of friendship choices in C and G than in any of the other paṭṭis, including Kh which is farthest away. C and G Rajputs are also set off from the others by the dialect difference of 3b.

The above data should be sufficient for some preliminary conclusions. It is clear that the linguistic differences represent social and not geographical groupings, since members of the same caste living in different sections of the village speak the same dialect. There is some correlation between the linguistic groupings and ritual status. Both agree in setting off the untouchables from the majority group and from each other. The distinction between high and

middle castes, however, is not reflected in village speech, and on the other hand the differences between C and G paṭṭi, old fashioned speech and the Standard, have no relation to ritual status.

In examining intercaste communication, we find that linguistic differences have no correlation with work contacts. Bloomfield's concept of "density of communication" therefore needs some refinement. It becomes necessary to distinguish between several forms of communication. Not all of them have the same effect on linguistic diversity. In the present study, the determining factor seems to be informal friendship contacts. We may assume that the population is divided into a number of small friendship groups of the type described by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955). Each of these creates its own norms and exerts pressures for uniformity. A linguistic form adopted in one group may spread to the other, through individuals having membership in both groups, and is then adopted. Since there are a number of intergroup and intercaste friendships among touchables, there is no barrier to the spread of innovations from one sector to the other. However, these friendships do not extend across the touchable-untouchable line or from one untouchable group to another, and thus account for the linguistic isolation of the untouchables. The linguistic peculiarities of the C and G Rajputs can be explained in a similar way.

The exact relationship between linguistic and social groupings needs a great deal of further clarification. We need to know more about what types of contact favor the spread of linguistic innovations and what processes are involved. For example, it is not clear from the present study whether children's play groups or adult friendships are more important in language habit formation. Hockett has suggested that age-grading plays a decisive role, but this has never been tested (Hockett 1950). If it is true, then the present linguistic diversity reflects the situation of some years ago, rather than the present one. Another problem of interest is the relationship between the amount of linguistic difference and the social distance between two groups. Lexical variants in Khalapur occur between individual castes, phonological differences correlate with larger groupings. The distinction between Chamar and Sweeper speech is phonemic, while that between Chamar and Shoemaker is relatively minor. Does this also indicate that in the case of the former the social distance is greater? It would be of interest to learn more about correlations of differences at each of the various levels of language structure with other aspects of the culture. Detailed interdisciplinary study is required, based on research designs suitable for isolating all social factors that have a bearing on the formation of speech habits.

NOTES

[1] The data for this study were collected during a two year stay in India under a Ford Foundation fellowship. Morris E. Opler and the staff of the Cornell University Field Project provided quarters in the village. The author is especially indebted to John T. Hitchcock for data on friendships among Rajputs, Pauline Mahar for information on Sweepers and on ritual caste ranking, and Michael Mahar for data on Chamars and Shoemakers. Thanks are also due to David G. Mandelbaum and Sarah Ann Robinson for many helpful comments.

[2] Leonard Bloomfield 1933:46.

[3] For a more detailed listing of the literature on the subject see Putnam and O'Hern 1955.

[4] Other literature dealing with the village is found in Gumperz 1955, 1957, and Hitchcock 1956.

[5] For a discussion of the difference between data on language structure and other social science data, see Levi-Strauss 1951:156.

[6] In the transcription of caste and other names, traditional transliteration is used.

[7] For a discussion of the difference between ritual and other caste rankings, see Srinivas 1957. The concept of the dominant caste is discussed in Srinivas 1955:17. The distinction between the ritually highest caste and dominant caste is important for dialect studies in India, since the dialect of the "highest caste" cannot always be presumed to be the prestige dialect.

[8] Paṭṭis will be referred to by initials as in the outline map.

[9] There are insufficient data for the Watercarriers (3 percent of the population).

[10] For a detailed description of the phonology of the dialect, see Gumperz 1955.

[11] Stress is marked only in words of more than one syllable.

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The Danish and Dutch Settlements on Amager Island: Four Hundred Years of Socio-Cultural Interaction[1]

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INTRODUCTION

IN 1520 a colony of Dutch farmers settled on the Danish island of Amager. The history of these colonists and their neighbors chronicles more than four hundred years of sociocultural interaction, offering evidence on the social and cultural processes of change in a contact situation. The first part of this paper presents a description of the historical facts. This description begins with a study of the sociocultural situation as it was in the 16th century, including an account of the colonization, of the immigrant Dutch Amagerians, of the indigenous Danish Amagerians, and a résumé of the early sociocultural distinction of Dutchman and Dane. The subsequent history of the islanders is then recounted, subdivided into three successive phases: first, a period of ethnic acculturation lasting two centuries (the 16th and 17th); second, a period of folk amalgamation, also lasting two centuries (the 18th and 19th); and third, a period of urban assimilation lasting half a century (the 20th). In the second part of this paper, the data are subjected to a sociocultural analysis.

THE COLONIZATION

Denmark is a nation of some five hundred islands plus the peninsula of Jutland. One of the many islands is Amager. Small (65 sq. km.) and flat, it is separated by a narrow strait from Copenhagen, located on Sealand, the largest of the Danish islands.

Tht story of the Dutch colony on Amager begins with a love affair. While still crown prince, Christian II fell in love with Dyveke, an exile from North Holland whom he met while sojourning in the Norwegian provinces. In 1513, after ascending the throne, Christian brought Dyveke and her mother, known as "Mother Sigbrit," to Copenhagen, giving them a house in the capital as well as a summer residence on Amager. Through his love for the daughter, Christian came under the influence of Mother Sigbrit, a forceful woman who had a hand in many events in his reign, including, it seems quite certain, the negotiations that brought immigrants to Amager from North Holland.

The Dutch were invited to settle in Denmark because their skill and advanced techniques in agriculture and dairying would enable them to supply the court and the capital with high quality vegetables, butter, and cheese. Mother Sigbrit was apparently quick to see that the island of Amager, flat, fertile, and convenient to Copenhagen, was well suited to Dutch techniques, and because it was the private property of the king it could be made available. In 1515 Christian issued his earliest invitation to the Netherlands. In 1516 a few Dutchmen came to Denmark, presumably to inspect personally the land

being offered them. Late in 1520 the colony came, 184 people comprising 24 families.

In a letter of privileges granted in 1521, King Christian II gave the immigrants all of the island of Amager, excepting the royal fishing camp at Dragor but including the neighboring island of Saltholm; the utility of the latter was limited by its seasonal inundation. Although much of Amager lay unused, the 736 Danish inhabitants were told to turn over their farms to the newcomers. However, the situation remained fluid for a number of years. Before all of the Danes were evacuated, Christian II was forced to flee the country and was replaced on the throne in 1523 by his uncle, Frederik I, who lacked special interest in the Dutch. In 1541, twenty years after the Dutch first came, the situation was crystallized by the issuance of a royal letter of protection which affirmed the Danish farmers' rights to their farms on northern Amager as well as their equal rights with the Dutch to use the meadows, chalk deposits, and fishing grounds of Saltholm. Many of the farms were returned to the original owners, and although in 1547 Frederik's successor, Christian III, reaffirmed the privileges of the Dutch essentially as they were originally given in 1521, the practical effect was that the immigrants were confined to the southern part of the island, leaving the northern part to the original inhabitants.

The center of the colony was ancient Søndre Magleby, a village of about twenty farms. Renamed Store Magleby (Dutch, Grote Maglebeu), it was much changed in order to satisfy the newcomers' needs for land distribution and was completely rebuilt after suffering destruction in the Count's Feud (1533–36).

THE IMMIGRANT DUTCH AMAGERIANS

The land was the private property of the colonists. As stated in the original letter of privileges and reaffirmed by Christian III, the Dutch were free to divide the land among themselves, to sell it, and to give it in inheritance, all according to Dutch customs. The only restriction on ownership, other than the requirement to pay taxes, was that if a family died out completely the land was to revert to the crown, but with the proviso that it was then to be auctioned off by the village head to the highest bidder, who was always a Dutchman. In accordance with these privileges, the 24 families divided the land into 24 farms of from 35 to 40 acres each. The rest of the land was used in common; each farmer had the use of grazing areas in proportion to the amount of his land kept under the plow, the total amount of land available to each of the original farms being approximately 135 acres. With the passage of time and the division of farms by inheritance and sale, the land became parcelled into many small plots, a single farmer having as many as 30 or 40 separate strips. The farms also became unequal in size and value.

The royal privileges included the right to local independent government according to Dutch customs. The communal government thus ordained was under the leadership of a *schout* or *schultus*, who was elected for life by the

adult farm owners (*gaardmaendene*) and was under oath only to the representative (*lensmand*, later *amtsmand*) of the king. The schout was chairman of the village council, consisting of himself and seven men called *scheppens*. Scheppens were elected for one-year terms every New Year's Day when a village meeting was held. In this meeting it was also customary to read aloud accounts of public affairs and to vote upon village ordinances (*vedtaegter*), suffrage being the prerogative of the male farm owners.

The village had its own law court, also patterned upon Dutch practices. The nine members were the schout, the seven scheppens, and a secretary (*skriver*). The secretary, also elected by the villagers, was generally the man who became schout when the incumbent died. The court judged in all legal cases except those where the punishment would be "neck or hand," in which case the king judged. Later, the king's vassal (*lensmand*) came to function as an appellate judge, and in 1576 he appointed two royal chancellors to undertake a revision of the Dutch laws in view of some dissatisfaction that existed with their fairness. Later, still under Christian IV (1588–1648), the Dutch were told to replace their laws with the laws of the Sealand Lawbook and to have the Sealand parliament (*landsthing*) as a superior court. In 1615, on appeal from the Dutch, they were allowed to use the Jutland Lawbook with the royal representative (*amtsmand*) in the castle of Copenhagen as a court of appeal, and with ultimate appeal to the king and the royal council. Later yet, "Christian V's Danish Law" was made the law of the nation, but the Dutch were permitted to retain deviating rules in a number of areas, as well as their old form for holding court. Court met four times a year—at New Year's Day, Easter, Saint John's Day, and Michael's Day. As symbol of his judgeship, the schout carried a long white staff and, on opening the court in the name of God, the king, and the congregation, drew three crosses on the table with chalk, to be erased when court was adjourned.

The church in Store Magleby, which had formerly belonged to the cathedral in Copenhagen, was part of the property given the Dutch when they settled on Amager. The first priest was probably one of the original Dutch settlers. Subsequent replacements were speakers of Low German, mostly brought in from the Duchy of Holstein. The parish was independent of the Sealand bishop and exempt from the so-called church tithe and priest tithe, paying only the third of the three divine payments, the king's tithe. In 1560 the king allocated his tithe to the Sealand see, very likely to reimburse the bishop for the loss of income sustained by the king's generosity to the colonists. In 1672 the congregation was also exempted from paying the king's tithe, in return for taking upon themselves all expenses for church, parsonage, priest's farm, and school.

The school may date from the earliest settlement. It was administered by the priest, who was probably also the school teacher. The first mention of a school master is not until around 1640, when it was noted that in addition to a regular annual salary he was entitled to money offerings made by the women at

infant baptismal ceremonies. A knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic was important in this community where most adult men had an active role in communal administration.

The town treasury consisted of a large locked chest in the charge of the schout and, possibly, the secretary. This chest functioned as the village bank. It not only held the village funds but also the fortunes of the inhabitants, including money inherited by minors.

Funds came into the public treasury from payments made for the use of communal properties and facilities. Such payments were made by those who grazed cattle on Saltholm or dug its chalk, by the man who leased and ran the Dutch windmill, by any family that had a new grave dug in the cemetery, by the men who fished for eels, and by others. Royal taxes and assessments were levied on the community as a whole, the responsibility for payment falling upon the schout. Since the village chest always contained sufficient funds, it was never necessary to charge local taxes. On the contrary, income from eel fishing alone appears to have been enough to pay the yearly land tax (*landgilde*) and sometimes there was so much money left over that it was divided among the members of the community. The village was often able to make loans to the inhabitants of the Danish villages of northern Amager against mortgages in land, interest and sometimes land augmenting the wealth of the Dutch community.

The expenses of the community were first of all a money land tax (*landgilde*) and guest duty (*gaesteriafgift*), set at 300 marks by Christian III and later changed to 100 kurantdaler. In 1547 it was further demanded that the castle secretary (*slotsskriveren*) in Copenhagen be provided with root crops and onions to meet the needs of the castle and the court; this obligation was probably regarded as a substitute for villeinage labor (*hoveri*), from which the Dutch had been exempted in the privilege letter of 1521. The Dutch were also originally exempt from transportation duty (*aegt*), but under Christian III were required to perform it on the king's behalf for the royal vassal (*lensmand*) in Copenhagen. Set at 24 "pantry-trips" (*fadebursrejser*) a year, it only amounted to one trip for each farm. In 1541 the right to free and exclusive use of Saltholm was rescinded and the Dutch had to share use and expenses with the Danish Amagerians, the yearly cost being 40 Jochumsdaler (160 marks), plus 200 loads of chalk; the Dutch paid two-fifths and the Danes three-fifths. In the 1660's these charges were replaced by an assessment according to the amount of land held under cultivation (*hartkorn*), and gradually they disappeared completely. An extra tax, which soon became a regular annual expense, was 40 rigsdaler a year, to which were added taxes on grain and pork as well as money subscriptions at the time of the Swedish wars at the end of the 17th century. Those earning interest on loans paid the throne $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent a year on this income. Finally, there were other smaller communal expenses such as bridge assessments, customs and excise, and payment for eel fishing rights. The village did not pay the priest tithe or church tithe and was exempted from the king's tithe as well after 1672. For home defense in later years the Dutch were

not required to quarter soldiers but did have to provide boatmen for the fleet, 30 or 40 being demanded on some occasions.

THE INDIGENOUS DANISH AMAGERIANS

In the early period of the Dutch colony there were approximately 90 farms in the Danish parish, each leased directly from the king. Generally the right of usufruct lasted for the life of the farmer and his wife, although some farms were given to father and son or to mother and son for as long as one of them lived and continued to pay the land tax. On the death of the lessee a new letter of life tenure (*livsbrev*) had to be obtained; it was most commonly given to a son or son-in-law in return for the promise to pay a renewal charge (*indfaestningssum*) in addition to the annual rent.

The farmers in the Danish villages were subordinate to the king's vassal in Copenhagen's castle. The king's vassal had almost unlimited authority in virtually every aspect of daily life, including farm management, fees and taxes, and villeinage. However, the farmers rarely saw the lensmand, for he was represented in turn by the circuit sheriff (*ridefogden*), who directly supervised and controlled the area, appeared in court in law cases such as tax or lease disputes, and on the whole represented the king's vassal and the king. In each village, subservient to the circuit sheriff, was a local sheriff (*foged*) or alderman (*oldermand*), generally one of the biggest farmers in the area. It appears that the alderman was elected for life by the villagers, subject to the sanction of the king's vassal. It was his job to see to it that the town ordinances were kept, that the farmers worked without complaint or disturbance, and that problems which occurred were, if possible, resolved without resorting to lengthy and expensive court proceedings. The alderman also assigned farmers their turns in transportation duty, road corvées, and work on other public projects, on the whole carrying out the will of the crown and the royal vassal. In return he was freed from certain extra taxes, transportation duty, and public work.

When the Dutch came, the old Amager judicial district (*birk*) was divided; the Dutch became independent and the Danes came under a new jurisdiction, the Taarnby district court (*birkething*), functioning under the royal vassal and headed by a court sheriff (*thingfoged*). The latter, at first one of the district's most important farmers, was later called district sheriff (*birkefoged*), and instead of a farmer became a city man trained in law and governmental administration. The position required ability to read and write, which was uncommon at that time, as well as familiarity with the old laws, legal rules and orders of the king and the council of the kingdom (*rigets raad*). He was assisted by the court secretary (*thingskriveren*), also trained in law. Both district sheriff and court secretary had to sign all judgments, decisions, and ordinances. The court met on Fridays in the Amager village of Taarnby and consisted of twelve jurors (*thingmaend* or *stokkemaend*) in addition to the district sheriff, sitting as judge (*birkedommer*), and the secretary. To be a juror was a royal duty divided among the older villagers; there were generally two from each village. The court had jurisdiction even in cases concerning "honor and life," but the au-

thority of the judge became more and more absolute until the jurors had no influence in decisions. The farmers responded by neglecting their duty so that nonland-holding farm laborers (*husmaend*) came to be taken as permanent jurors in return for having their houses freed of taxes and royal burdens. Around 1700 the number of jurors was reduced to nine. The original court sheriffs were paid partly from the fines collected and partly in exemption from the land tax and most of the other burdens common to tenant farmers. In 1578 it was ordered that each farm in the district was to give a certain amount of "judge-grain" to the sheriff, but this was soon replaced with a money assessment amounting to two marks from each farm; although many were in arrears in their payments, the total sum due the judge in the 17th century was around 100 sletdaler, a rather good wage for that time. The court secretary was paid out of the money collected in fines. Judgments could be appealed to Sealand's parliament (*landsthing*) as a superior court when it was a matter of life, honor, or property. Such cases were common, since the court was strict and the offenses included fornication and adultery, fighting, "neglecting the court," holding a big wedding, and illegal sale of liquor. Many of the cases concerned extramarital sexual affairs, which were severely punished. According to a law of 1558, adultery was punished the first time with loss of nonreal property and money to the last farthing, the second time with loss of all property including real estate, and the third time with decapitation for the man and drowning for the woman. A man guilty of defloration of a virgin (*jomfrukrenkeri*) had to pay nine marks to the woman's guardian plus eight skilling grot to the court. On Amager as a whole, one or two cases of sexual misconduct (*lejermaalssager*) were generally tried each year. Most of the offenders were Dutchmen, who had been made subject to similar proscriptions on sexual conduct during the reign of Christian IV (1588–1648).

Taarnby church, like that of Store Magleby, had been an annex of the cathedral in Copenhagen. In 1474, before the Dutch colonization, the two Amagerian churches and the cathedral were taken from the pope and put under the jurisdiction of the university; the income from the churches was to provide wages for university teachers, who in turn were to hold church services or have them performed by a vicar. Apparently the crown had a superior right, since the churches were given in fief to the secretary of the castle (*slotsskriver*) in Copenhagen. Oftentimes the king obtained money by selling rights to church income and priest tithe, and the buyer then had the responsibility of providing a curate for the church. Following this custom, Taarnby church came under the jurisdiction of the university again in 1542, remaining there during the following centuries. The university had the right to appoint the priest for Taarnby parish, which had economic importance for the university faculty in providing a place of retirement for old professors. The congregation seldom had a word in the choice of their pastor, in spite of the church ordinance of 1539 which made free choice a legal right. Indeed, they usually did not even have a chance to hear him preach before he was called to his post.

Without a school before the 1700's, only a few of the farmers obtained any

education for their children other than the teaching of the catechism by the priest after Sunday church services.

The Danish Amagerians were not land-bound serfs. On the contrary, in order to retain their farms they were subject to various taxes and assessments. The land tax was originally eight barrels of barley for each farm, but was later increased by two barrels of oats. Guesting expenses were levied on the villages as wholes, and amounted to approximately one-fourth of a cow, one sheep or pig, or two lambs, one goose, four hens, and one daler in money from each farm every year. It is not known when these payments were changed to money, but the old rules were still in force around 1700. The tithe, not literally a tenth of the farmer's crops, was divided into three parts—king's tithe, church tithe, and priest tithe—and the amount of each was determined independently, varying yearly according to the harvest. The king often leased rights to his tithe, and thus in 1560 he gave the Taarnby king's tithe to the bishop of Sealand, probably as a replacement of the loss sustained by the bishopric when the church was given to the university. At first the amount of villeinage which could be required was unlimited, and the Danish men were sometimes required to work daily during sowing, harvesting, and plowing seasons to the detriment of their own farm livelihood. In response to a complaint in 1529, the king set a maximum to the amount of work that could be demanded; the farmer had the right to be released from more than the maximum amount in return for paying one-half løndemark. In 1624 complete freedom from villeinage could be purchased for 300 speciedaler a year for the parish (four rigsdaler per farm), which was more than the Dutch paid in land tax for their whole parish. Exemption from villeinage did not include freedom from transportation duty, which, however, did not become oppressive until after the inauguration of the absolute monarchy in 1660. In 1627, for example, each of 80 Danish farmers was required to bring two loads of firewood to the court in Copenhagen. In addition to these permanent annual taxes, assessments were made which themselves often became permanent. During the long war with Sweden in the 1560's the government added special assessments in money and provisions and required the inhabitants to quarter soldiers. The extra tax or land help (*landehjaelp*) of one daler from each farmer soon became a regular yearly expense, and under Christian IV it was doubled and tripled, with the addition of a grain tax, a pork tax and, in 1646, a copper and tin tax. During armament for the Swedish war of 1658–60 there were a number of new taxes such as a cattle tax of one mark a head and a monthly contribution in money, a defense tax of twenty speciedaler from each farm, an increase in land help, pork tax, and grain tax. Finally, under Christian V, these taxes were unified by assessing a single tax according to the amount of land under cultivation (*hartkornskontribution*).

RÉSUMÉ OF THE EARLY DIFFERENCES

With the settlement of the Dutch in the southern part of Amager, the island became the habitat of two distinct societies, each with its own culture. In their own eyes and in the eyes of their contemporaries, the sociocultural differ-

ences were of considerable magnitude and importance. The Dutch farms were privately owned and could be sold or inherited, subject only to the payment of taxes and assessments. The Danish farmers were the king's tenants, with only life-time leases. The Dutch community was governed by locally elected representatives according to Dutch procedural form and law (later, Danish law codes with allowances for Dutch practices). The Danes were governed by outsiders according to Danish law codes, their locally elected representatives acting only to enforce decisions made outside of the community. The Dutch lived under pronounced, voluntary communalism, while the Danes functioned as individuals except when forced by the government to act as a body. The Dutch owned their own church, chose their own Low German-speaking priest, and followed Dutch Protestant ritual. The Danes worshipped in a church belonging to the University of Copenhagen under a priest chosen independently of their wishes, according to Danish Protestant ritual. The Dutch supported their own church and minister. The price paid for religion by the Danes went to powers outside of the community. The Dutch had public schools. The Danes waited approximately two centuries before their children could get an elementary education. The Dutch, like the Danes, were subject to land tax, guesting duty, transportation duty, and special assessments, but the land tax was levied on the village as a whole and continued to be based upon a community of twenty-four farms. In addition, they were free of villeinage, which greatly oppressed the Danes. Dutch economy differed from Danish in its emphasis upon dairying, horse breeding, eel fishing, and vegetable cultivation as opposed to grain farming. All of these differences were epitomized in the view of contemporaries by the possession of mutually unintelligible languages, different types of clothing, differences in houses and furnishings, and different customs in the celebration of holidays and personal events such as engagements and weddings.

Social intercourse was limited almost entirely to meetings resulting from spatial propinquity, the major exception being those instances in which Danish farmers mortgaged their farms to the Dutch. Socializing was kept to a minimum, and each sought out their own. The Dutch did not permit intermarriage; no Dane could be brought into Store Magleby and any Dutchman who married out was no longer considered a member of the community and was not allowed to participate in village affairs nor enjoy their special rights and privileges.

ETHNIC ACCULTURATION: THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

For the first two centuries the Dutch increased in wealth and numbers. The original 24 families which established the colony in 1520 had become approximately 75 families in 1600, 80 in 1615, and 130 in 1650. In 1651 twenty families moved to the island of Sealand on the other side of Copenhagen to found the colony of New Amager. The plague of 1654 and the contemporaneous Swedish war reduced the population temporarily. Thirty farms and houses were abandoned, most of the farms supporting two or more families. By 1688, however,

the population had increased again to 99 families in Store Magleby and 30 in New Amager.

The Danes, depressed to begin with, sank lower and lower into poverty under tax burdens, assessments, and villeinage. Soon after arriving the Dutch took over the two farms in Dragor, "the king's fishing camp" south of Store Magleby. In 1547, and again in 1574, royal permission was obtained to lease farms in the Danish villages, and the subsequent infiltration of the Dutch into the Danish parish increased at an accelerated pace. By the time of the wars which preceded the absolute monarchy in 1660, one-fourth of the Danish land was in Dutch hands. During the early decades of the absolute monarchy the economic position of the Danes deteriorated rapidly; by 1680 the Amager Dutch averaged 3.5 horses or cattle to every 1.363 hectares of land, while the Amager Danes averaged only 1.5. During this recession many Danes were forced off their farms into the land laborer or worker class, and the farms were invariably taken over by the Dutch. In the prewar period many cases occurred in which the Dutch loaned money to the Danes, and the creditors received ownership or usufruct of the land. After the war, in order to get the national economy on its feet as rapidly as possible, the king overlooked the fact that such farms were taken over without lease or payment to the crown, thus bringing life leases to a de facto end at the same time that a fifty-year period was inaugurated during which the land tax was not demanded. By the time the land tax was required again in 1708, much of the Danish farm land was in the hands of the Dutch.

The Dutch farmers came into positions of influence and power in the Danish towns. In 1672 the sheriffs of Tømmerup and Ullerup were Dutchmen, and by 1691 Dutch officials were also to be found in Maglebylille and Sundyvester. By 1718 almost one-third of the farmers in the Danish towns were Dutchmen who had taken over Danish farms either completely or in part as creditors, or had leased the farms from the crown. All of the large farms, in particular, were in Dutch hands.

Some of the Dutch worked the Danish lands as part of their own farms, while others moved to the new farms. All, however, continued to regard themselves as belonging to the mother village and for the most part managed to avail themselves of its privileges, especially with respect to permanent ownership of property and freedom from villeinage. In cases where Dutch were elected officials of Danish villages, it was because of their influence with the authorities deriving from their wealth and reputation for dependability and punctuality, and not because they had amalgamated with the Danes. In social life they kept as much as possible to the Dutch community, speaking Dutch and avoiding the Danes in daily life, regarding the latter as economically, socially, and intellectually inferior. Endogamy was a strict rule, and in the 17th century the king's permission was frequently sought to marry within the third degree of kinship; permission was always given in return for a judgment in favor of the poor, generally a hospital, although sometimes the king appro-

priated one-half of the sum for himself. Nor would the Dutch permit their children to work for Danes, not even, it was held, if it were for the most important man in the kingdom. In addition to guarding their social and cultural integrity, the Dutch retained their special relationship to the royal house, the basis for their prosperity, by always being prompt in payments due the crown and by continuing to supply the capital and the court with their desirable products. Unique in their way of life and protected by the royal house, they stoutly insisted that they were not peasants (*bønder*) but "the king's Amagerians."

In contrast to their conservative neighbors, the Danes changed and came more and more to follow the Dutch way of life. In particular, they adopted the Dutch economy, learning to cultivate vegetables and to emphasize dairying, horse breeding, and eel fishing. Every Wednesday and Saturday all Amagerians carted their produce to the market at Amager Square in Copenhagen. Before the coming of the Dutch mostly fish was sold, but the Dutch created a reputation for fine vegetables, cheese, and butter-milk, and became especially known for their sweet cup-butter ("*søde koppesmør*") which was sold to "gentlemen and bishops." The market constituted the most important source of money income for Amagerians, and the Danes began to capitalize on the success of the Dutch by offering similar products for sale. In order to do this, it was found advantageous to present themselves as Dutchmen, and by the 17th century it was customary for them to wear a variant of the Dutch national dress. Although not able to obtain the special prerogatives of communal government, land tenure, and villeinage exemption held by the Dutch, they did adopt at least one legal custom; in 1686 royal permission was received to use the Dutch rules of inheritance which divided property equally between sons and daughters, rather than the Danish rules which gave twice as much to a son as to a daughter. By the last half of the 17th century the Danes were clearly borrowing traditions out of a pure desire to be Dutch undiluted by obvious economic motivation; for example, they adopted the Shrovetide (*fastelavn*) celebration of the immigrants, even though they were not able to match the rich display of the latter. Finally, there was an important but poorly documented diffusion of the Dutch propensity for steadfast hard work, initiative, and reliability.

Relations between Dane and Dutchman were not free of conflict. As already noted, the indigenous farmers objected to expulsion from the island by Christian II in 1520 and succeeded in retaining or regaining much of their original territory, primarily under the protection of King Frederik I. In subsequent decades the outstanding trouble spot was Dragor, the royal Danish fishing village on the southern, Dutch part of the island. In 1520 the village, with two farms and a small fishing population, was no longer the important center it had been in the late middle ages when the Hansa league flourished in the Baltic. But during the 16th and 17th centuries its population grew steadily. On the one hand, Dutchmen came. The two farms of the village were leased by the king to Dutch farmers. In addition, the Store Magleby village

government financed expansion and improvement of the harbor, thereby gaining rights to participation in shipping, fishing, and ship-salvage; this resulted in the influx of many young Dutchmen, especially from families with more sons than the paternal farm could support. On the other hand, Danes immigrated from Sealand and the larger Sound area, coming to fish, salvage, and participate in the small-scale shipping of produce, firewood, and building materials.

The Dutch acquired political control of Dragor. Around 1600, when Hansa trade no longer necessitated a customs agent in the village, the job was given by the king to the schout of inland Store Magleby, who thus came to function as the supreme local authority (*foged*) in both villages. When Dragor later became larger, the schout got royal permission to appoint a deputy sheriff (*underfoged*) as resident chief of the harbor village, and a fellow Dutchman was always chosen.

While the Dutch Dragorians profited from this arrangement, the Danish did not. The latter were forced to share the obligations of the residents of Store Magleby, such as contributing to the payment of the Dutch land tax, without receiving the corresponding privileges; for example, they had no part in the commons, not even enough to tether a goose. In the long-continued dispute, sole recourse was to the king. Standing before the throne in 1674, the Dutch pleaded that the two communities, always united in the past, should continue to form parts of a single church parish and politico-legal district. In spite of its basis in an incorrect statement of local history, the plea was upheld. Although there is no record of violence, Dragorian Danes continued to complain during succeeding decades, but as long as the Dutch enjoyed the special benevolence of the king, complaints were in vain and grumbling was the only solace.

FOLK AMALGAMATION: THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

Between 1700 and 1720 Denmark was at war with Sweden, and as in previous Dano-Swedish wars, Amager suffered greatly; it was overrun and destroyed by armies, and drained of all resources to supply the besieged capital. The disaster of the prolonged war increased when the Black Plague struck in 1711, leaving half of the island's inhabitants dead and as many as two-thirds in two of the Danish villages. This time the Dutch did not have the resiliency they had displayed in responding to past disasters, no doubt because of the royal act of 1717 which ended their special privilege of a permanent land tax assessed on Store Magleby on the basis of the original twenty-four farms. A number of the farms in both the Danish and the Dutch parish were left uninhabited in 1711, and even after 1750 there was still frequent mention of abandoned farms (*øde gaarde*).

The Dutch no longer enjoyed superior economic position; they had lost special privileges. And developments following the introduction of the absolute monarchy had resulted in a de facto end to life-time limits on farm ownership in the Danish parish; Danish property ownership now also included the right to sell and inherit with freedom from taxation on property transfer. In

addition, the Danes had adopted the profitable farm economy of their neighbors.

The Dutch who suffered these changes in the second decade of the 18th century were reluctant to give up their sociocultural integrity, but they were now fighting a losing battle against many of their own younger generation as well as against the Danes, who had ceased to be socioeconomic inferiors. In 1731 a Danish priest was called to work at Store Magleby church beside the Dutch priest, so that church services could now be offered in both languages, and in 1735 the first Danish language wedding ceremony was held. The biggest break in the ethnic barrier came in 1758 when the schout of Store Magleby married the daughter of a well-known and respected Dane, the sheriff (*foged*) of the Danish town of Sundbyvester. The first sanctioned marriage of a Dutchman to a Dane, it was followed the next year by the marriage of the secretary of Store Magleby to another Danish girl from Sundbyvester. Before long, Dutch and Dutch-mixed elements dominated the whole island. In the 1770's half of farms in the Danish parish were in Dutch hands and only five farmers were not in an "in-law" relationship with the Dutch.

In 18th century Dutch homes, people still spoke their own language, which by then was a mixture of Dutch, Low German, and Danish. For some time the men had been able to speak Danish; from the first they had known enough to deal in the Copenhagen market place and from an early period they had been forced to use Danish in law cases which came before the king or his vassal, as well as in other communications with the court. Yet, in law cases of a purely local nature, Dutch was used. The communal laws of 1711 were written in Dutch, and school and church functions were conducted in Dutch. In 1788 the Dutch priest issued a school-book in Low German, and the Dutch song book, authorized in 1715, was still in use around 1800. By then, however, many people in the community spoke only Danish. When new communal laws were drawn up in 1811 they were written in Danish, and in the same year Dutch ceased to be used in church services. In 1818 the special jurisdiction of the Store Magleby court was revoked and the Dutch came under the Danish court system.

Some adults of the mid-19th century attempted to perpetuate the Dutch language. A traveler in 1846 described a family in which the old farmer wrote a Dutch glossary for his son's Danish wife. But it was a hopeless fight against the younger generation, which could see no advantage to speaking Dutch rather than Danish.

With intermarriage, loss of language, and loss of unique forms of communal organization, the Dutch merged with their Danish neighbors. The result was neither a Dutch nor a Danish culture, but an Amager culture—strongly Danish, but differing from the rest of Denmark in a number of ways. Above all, Amagerians had their own form of economy, adapted to the contemporary market by increasing specialization in vegetables and the development of flower cultivation (especially tulips and carnations) at the expense of fishing and dairying. They had their own dress which, though changed considerably

from its prototype in Holland, still distinguished the King's Amagerians from other Danes. The Scandian dialect of Danish spoken on the island had acquired words and sounds from Dutch, including a certain singing tone in the vocals. Details of housing and furnishing, such as the so-called Amager shelf, were distinctive features, as were holiday activities such as rolling and throwing eggs at Easter time, eating "bag porridge" at Christmas, and ceremonially riding the rounds of the farms on horseback at Shrovetide. Amagerians were known for their fine products, for their propensity for industriousness, and for reliability. Amager culture of the 19th century, an amalgam of Dutch and Danish proudly shared by all regardless of ethnic background, was unique enough to set the islanders off in contemporary eyes as the "Amager Dutch," purveyors of the best cabbages and vegetables in the realm.

URBAN ASSIMILATION: THE 20TH CENTURY

The means of communication with Copenhagen changed radically in the 1900's. For centuries roads were maintained by the farmers themselves; the inhabitants of each town formed corvées, and their work was supervised by local aldermen and subject to inspection by the king's vassal and his circuit sheriff. Under this arrangement roads were narrow, the surfaces deeply rutted in summer and winter and muddy bogs in spring and fall. The situation was not improved in 1790, when toll was charged. Half of the money collected went to Amager residents and the other half to the state for road maintenance, but half of the toll was not sufficient for repairs. This resulted in vociferous complaints in the 1830's and a change in organization in 1840, when road care became the responsibility of a state agency. During the rest of the 19th century the roads were improved, and in the 20th century the main roads were given an asphalt surface.

When the Dutch first came to the island it was connected with the capital only by a ferry. In the first half of the 17th century a small foot-bridge was built which Amagerians used in the transportation of goods in hand-carts, and around 1660 this bridge was expanded and strengthened to accommodate horse-drawn wagons. In 1686 a second bridge was built, although most Amagerians continued for a long time to use the older one. These bridges, since rebuilt several times, are still the only dry connections with Sealand and the outside world.

Around 1600 Christian IV erected a gate on the island through which all travelers to the capital had to pass, and from that period until about 1850 it was the means by which all traffic was controlled; it levied a toll on market goods and denied passage during the night hours. Over poor roads and through this gate, centuries of Amagerians drove wagons to market on Wednesdays and Saturdays, but otherwise seldom ventured from their island. Even on these twice-weekly trips, however, they rarely had cause to go beyond the market place (Amagertorv), and intercourse with Copenhageners was limited to commercial dealings. Urban influence on Amagerian culture was minimal.

Both the city and the means of communication changed. The population of

Copenhagen, which was ca. 10,000 in 1500, grew to be 102,000 in 1801, 477,000 in 1901, and about one million in 1951. In the 1890's bicycles came into use as a means of communication which all could afford. In 1907 a railroad was built along the island to offer regular, although somewhat expensive, transportation to the capital. The growing city began to expand across the bridges and onto the northern part of the island, where some farms gave way to suburban residences, and small summer villas were built along the beaches. However, most Amagerians were little affected. Their daily life continued much as before, and the most notable change was the disappearance of the Amager costume. In the 1880's the last man died who wore this distinctive garb; women ceased to wear it after the turn of the century except on holidays and to family celebrations, and since 1940 it has become rare even on these occasions. In part this was the result of pride attaching to the wearing of city clothes, but it was also argued by those adopting the new styles that the old were prohibitively expensive and very uncomforable.

Quite different was the change that took place after World War II. By that time the need for housing was acute in the capital, since the population had sky-rocketed during the war years when it had been impossible to build residences. Because of modern developments in communication, it proved practical to meet this need by the construction of suburban communities on Amager. The hour-long bicycle trip from Dragor or Store Magleby to Copenhagen was not considered too long for daily commuting. In addition, the bus and streetcar, replacing the train, provided regular and dependable transportation at rates reasonable enough for the average commuting laborer or white-collar worker. The postwar years also witnessed a large increase in the number of motor-bikes, motor-scooters, and motorcycles, especially after 1950. Automobiles, however, remain a luxury enjoyed by few and are of significance for daily commuting primarily for the professional classes.

Amagerians were suddenly and dramatically urbanized. Much farm land was converted into residential developments or into the new international airport. The whole of the northern and central part of the island and many areas in the south became thickly populated. Of the remaining farms, many changed from truck gardening to modern hot-house cultivation, but still found it difficult to make a living because of the high taxes assessed since agricultural land became so valuable for suburban development. Influenced by their new neighbors, the Amager Dutch now look to Copenhagen for entertainment and large-scale shopping. Their young people and displaced adults commute to easy jobs in the city and are not forced to stay with the hard and now ill-paid work of farming.

The meeting of urbanites and islanders occurred without overt hostility or violence. Property disagreements were settled in the law courts, and occasional disgruntled Amagerians bemoaned the loss of a cherished way of life. On the whole, however, there is little evidence of significant individual maladjustment or interpersonal difficulties related to urbanization, no doubt due to the nature of the Copenhagen patterns of behavior. The rapid growth of the city has been

largely the result of immigration from the Danish countryside, with few non-Danish participants. Although the city is large (one million), the country as a whole is small (ca. four million) and has a relatively homogeneous rural culture. Growing primarily by immigration from the agricultural hinterland, the culture of the city represents a continuing compromise between urban ways and Danish rural culture which could be accepted by the Amagerians with a minimum of friction.

People still farming differ but slightly from other Danish farmers. Some still emphasize vegetable crops and flowers, but otherwise little of Amager culture remains. The young people have given up the local accent for the Copenhagen dialect. Unique Amager foods are rarely served. Indeed, the Shrovetide ritual is the only practice which still clearly marks the people as Amagerians. On the two Mondays of Shrovetide, when they wear high silk hats and corduroy vests and ride their decorated horses, they are following an old tradition which delights them and the many urban spectators as well. However, interest is waning, and the horses have largely been replaced by tractors. In 1956 the villagers rode on only one of the two Mondays, and since the airport will expand into more farms in 1958, the 1957 celebration may have been the last. The Amagerian is virtually extinct, and the island belongs to Copenhageners.

CONCLUSIONS

Three phases of culture change are discernible in the history of Amager island. In the first phase, lasting about two centuries (the 16th and 17th), the cultural integrity of the Dutch as a separate and distinct ethnic group persisted unimpaired. In fact, the Danish Amagerians adopted many Dutch traits. This phase of change is termed acculturation since the trend was for these adjacent cultures to become more similar.

In the second phase of culture change, which also lasted two centuries (the 18th and 19th), acculturation ultimately resulted in a single culture which was neither Dutch nor Danish, but Amagerian—a blend of the two ways of life. The change represents a special case of acculturation in that the cultural identity became complete, and it is therefore termed amalgamation.

The third phase comprised approximately the first half of the 20th century, during which time the island was urbanized. Here the dynamics of change constitute a special case of acculturation in that former rural differences were leveled, and rural and urban ways of life became virtually identical. This process is termed assimilation because the product was not a new culture, but a survival of one of the old—the urban—into which the other had been absorbed or assimilated.

The process by which cultures change when in prolonged contact entails the selection of traits from the donor culture, their modification, and the subsequent adjustments made in the host culture. In the case under study, selection and the direction of borrowing varied. In the first phase, the Dutch were wholly exclusive, accepting nothing Danish. The Danish borrowed forms of technology and modes of dress from the Dutch, with a sporadic infusion of

other traits. In the second phase, the Danes continued to utilize traits borrowed in phase one, and Dutch festive practices became more widespread. The Dutch adopted the Danish language, which they embellished with a certain tonality that spread back to the Danes. The two halves of the island continued to differ for some time in forms of government and law, since the authority of the national government presented obstacles to adjustment to local circumstances. In the last phase, those traits distinguishing Amager islanders from Copenhageners, specifically occupation, clothing, dialect, government, and legal institutions, as well as forms of celebrating the yearly holidays and rites of passage, were abandoned for city ways.

Traits borrowed in all phases were modified, but the process was remarkable for the superficial nature of this modification, which left the traits substantially the same as in the parent culture. The host culture was necessarily altered with each increment, but only to the extent that it now possessed the borrowed forms of behavior; the process was not marked by chain-reactions resulting in extensive and dependent secondary changes nor by basic reorganization of culture patterning and orientation. The minimal adjustive reaction in the host cultures is associated with a near absence of culture conflict and may be traced to the fact that the differences in behavior patterns, great in the eyes of participants and contemporary observers, were actually only variants of a single generalized way of life, the Northwestern European culture. Conflicts between individuals and between communities of the two cultures did occur, but they were social conflicts, not cultural ones. They did not reflect contrasts in life ways, but were economically-based rivalries for the right to use the same resources. In contrast to the modification of traits and cultural wholes, selectivity is not understandable primarily in cultural terms. Even though some borrowing, including significant technological accretions, may be regarded as a response to indigenous culturally-defined values oriented toward well-being, selectivity as a whole is very responsive to noncultural influences.

A distinction between cultural and social process is implicit in the history of change on Amager island. Cultural process concerns the fate of culture traits and culture wholes in a dynamic situation; social process concerns the formation and maintenance of social groups. On Amager, the successive cultural phases of acculturation, amalgamation, and assimilation were associated with three phases in social alignment: phase one, in which the island was divided into two ethnic societies; phase two, in which the island formed a single folk society; and phase three, in which the island population was incorporated into the large metropolitan agglomeration of Copenhagen. In the creation and maintenance of these social groupings, three phenomena were prominent: intragroup interaction, communication, and group consciousness.

In phase one of this social history, Dutch intragroup interaction was intense and well-structured, characterized by a strong communalistic government, an active church, endogamy, and a high degree of economic cooperation. The social life of the Dutch of the whole area focused upon the mother village. For the Danish islanders, social cohesion was relatively weak and was ex-

pressed primarily by attendance at a single church and submission to the authority of the king of Denmark, although a network of kinship ties through intermarriage was undoubtedly a salient factor. Within their villages, communal organization was largely imposed by the national government and expressed in the mandatory corvée rather than voluntary communalism. Cooperation between farmers was minimized by the demands of villeinage upon work time. Social relations between the Dutch and the Danish communities were limited to casual encounters in the market and to the granting of loans by the Dutch. Other economic cooperation was absent, and intermarriage was precluded by Dutch endogamy. Means of communication within each ethnic group were efficient, but between the halves were minimal by virtue of the possession of different languages and lack of mutual understanding in the face of contrasts in way of life. Dutch group consciousness was strong. The cultural practices that distinguished them from their neighbors functioned as symbols of their social integrity and economic superiority. The Danes had a relatively weak sense of group consciousness, and opportunistically adopted technological traits, modes of dress, and ritual practices which were patent symbols of the Dutch way of life.

In phase two, intragroup interaction expanded to join the ethnic moieties into a single folk society. Through intermarriage a common kinship network spread over the entire island. Economic cooperation made all Amagerians part of a single agricultural unit. Churches became the meeting places of local residents regardless of ethnic background. Communication within the island was facilitated by the spread of Danish as the common language and by the removal of class distinctions and marriage prohibitions hindering individual social intercourse. The amalgamation of culture eliminated misunderstandings derived from differences in way of life. Group consciousness of the emergent Amagerian folk culture now focused upon the island as a whole, as something distinct from the rest of Denmark. It found symbolic expression in common values resting upon unique shared forms of dress, dialect, architecture, ritual, and agriculture. Technological primitivity in means of land transportation isolated Amagerians from other Danes but it was not a serious impediment to intrainsular communication, and the total effect was to reinforce the unity of the hybrid population, which was epitomized in the reference to themselves as the "Dutch Amagerians" or the "King's Amagerians."

In phase three, interaction between the island and the capital developed rapidly as the Amager population entered the metropolitan labor market, intermarried, and developed ties based upon mutual interests. Communication became rapid and easy as means of transportation were modernized, and was facilitated by the minimization of cultural contrasts by substituting the Copenhagen dialect for that of the island and by dropping unique cultural practices, especially with respect to clothing and ritual. Group consciousness came to be focused upon the capital. Urban modes of dress, speech, and ritual became symbols of belonging to the capital population rather than to a folk enclave.

In the three phases of social change, aggression and hostility were constrained, since overt expression would have represented revolt against national authority in the form of the king and, later, the parliament. Except through sanctioned legal channels, disagreements had no outlet other than grumbling. The small amount of social conflict must be attributed largely to the occurrence of the process in the context of a national government. However, submission to national authority requires that the different peoples concerned be capable of integrating their ways of life, including forms of social organization and evaluation of material goals and punitive strictures. Surely, then, the relatively smooth social transitions were functions of the associated conflict-free cultural changes.

In short, while Amagerian social and cultural processes are analyzable as different phenomena, the three phases of social change were dynamically linked with the three phases of cultural change. This was a reciprocal dependency. In the social process on Amager, intragroup interaction was culturally based, i.e., upon established economic and social institutions. Communication was based upon the function of such culture traits as language, marriage rules, transportation, or even the whole culture regarded as a system of shared understandings. The expression of group consciousness was largely a matter of culture patterns functioning as symbols.

Conversely, social alignments affected culture change in determining the neighboring social groups that bore the cultures and accepted the changes. Beyond this, the process of social change was a factor in the process of culture change in its influence upon selectivity in borrowing. Insofar as borrowed traits contribute directly to improvement in standard of living, they may be regarded as responding primarily to cultural factors. Some selectivity, however, is best understood in terms of the social process. To take the outstanding examples, language changes in all phases were correlated with the development of new communication areas and with areas unified in group symbols; changes in modes of dress, with practical advantages indicated for the last phase only, were clearly significant in symbolizing changes in group membership; realignments in the sharing of life-cycle and holiday rituals were also referable to changes in the application of group symbols. In addition, those cultural trait selections responding to cultural factors were also influenced by social ones; changes in forms of agriculture, for example, were not only responses to cultural values, but functioned as symbols of the social unity of the Dutch in phase one and of the island as a whole in phase two, just as urban occupations became a symbol of membership in the urban group of phase three.

In the final analysis, therefore, a study of social and cultural dynamics requires one to think in terms of a single sociocultural process. In Amager's history it is found that only minimal cultural or social conflict occurred, and that the sociocultural process was characterized by ease. Had there been cultural conflict resulting from profound differences in way of life, it might be expected that the social changes would have been hampered. Conversely, social conflict could have offered barriers to communication and interaction which might have hin-

dered the processes of culture change. While these can only be suggested from the case under study, their possibility suggests the need to utilize a sociocultural approach to problems of change in either society or culture.

NOTE

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A Structural Approach to Esthetics: Toward a Definition of Art in Anthropology[1]

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THE general recognition of art as a primary means by which individual and social values are expressed is oddly incompatible with the neglect of the subject in anthropological theory. Psychological studies of art have revealed the intimate connection between individual style and personality and, to some extent, have shown a connection between style and the individual's mode of social integration. Historical studies have attempted to demonstrate a close relation between epochs of social development and the character of their arts. The "styles" of whole cultures have been dealt with by anthropologists in terms of broad constructs such as "ethos," "orientations," or "configuration" which are intended to present comprehensive statements of the world-view of given societies. But art itself does not emerge as a distinct system of social relations and cognition contributing in specific ways to the integration, reinforcement, or change of society and its values; nor does it emerge explicitly in theory as an important vehicle for the expression of these values. Shapiro (1953:311) writes:

> We have interesting studies on a multitude of problems concerning the relationship of particular styles and contents of art to institutions and historical situations. In these studies ideas, traits, and values arising from the conditions of economic, political, and civil life are matched with the new characteristics of an art. Yet, with all this experience, the general principles applied in explanation and the connection of types of art with types of social structure have not been investigated in a systematic way. By the many scholars who adduce piecemeal political or economic facts in order to account for single traits of style or subject matter, little has been done to construct an adequate comprehensive theory.

The close association of anthropology and archeology in the past tended to focus attention on collections of items of material culture from antiquity or from exotic contemporary societies. It was the classification and analysis of such collections—frequently without adequate knowledge of the peoples from whom the materials were derived—that conditioned the early approach to what has come to be known as "primitive art." Tales, musical samples, descriptions of dance and dramatic presentations likewise were brought back by travelers and ethnologists and accumulated under categories which distinguished media, technique, and form. In a real sense these materials were dealt with as artifacts. As neither culture itself nor esthetic values are inherent in artifacts, art in the role of artifact could not be understood in its own terms. The most intensive description, classification, and analysis of elements of form

alone will fail to disclose the data necessary to a delineation of art from non-art, except in the crudest sense.

Though the approaches to art in the literature of anthropology are many and diverse, they reveal a common tendency which has been appropriately termed "the museum approach to art." The processes of art are obscured by emphasis upon its formal products and their value as a source of information about other things. Even more recent functional and structural approaches tend to work backward from the product of art to its functional placement in an on-going sociocultural system. This has severely restricted a dynamic view of the arts. They are attributed significance as by-products or instruments of other categories of social phenomena which appear to be more amenable to analysis and structuring—political, economic, and religious activities, for example. When the artist himself emerges—which he rarely does—he is overshadowed by his product and its nonesthetic affinities.

"It is commonly held that economic activity is a necessity, but that art is a luxury," writes Firth (1951:155–162), "yet we can assert empirically the universality of art in man's social history." He proposes that "there are universal standards of æsthetic quality, just as there are universal standards of technical efficiency." The difficulty is, however, that the writer is asserting the universality of something about which we have formulated no adequate concept and which we have not dealt with systematically in theory. His cogent summary of the scope of the problem at hand brings us more directly to the point.

> The first problem is the effects on a society of producing and using the art objects. The second problem is the nature of the values which are expressed by the formal characteristics of the art objects. . . . These problems may be put in another way—what does art *do* in a primitive society? The social correlates of art have two aspects. On the one hand, the creation—the actual making, and use of objects of art affects the system of social relations. On the other hand, the system of representations conveyed by the objects of art, in particular the system of symbols, corresponds to some system of social relations.

Insofar as art is composed in a social setting and has a cultural content, this content can only be understood in specific cultural terms at given periods of time. It is this element of cultural content in art that has admitted the anthropologist to the field. In the collection of objects of primitive art as cultural material, Firth suggests that the anthropologist has performed "an important sub-aesthetic function," and "it is on his shoulders that the task of interpreting the meaning of these things has largely fallen." Though these remarks anticipate a theory of art in anthropology, they also demonstrate implicitly the enigma which confronts any attempt to define art in social and cultural terms. In order to know what art does, we must have a working concept of what art is.

There are many ways in which an anthropologist may study objects presumed to be "art" without bothering himself with a definition of art. As a cultural product, the object can be studied in terms of technology. Systems of symbolic representation inferred from the elements of an object can be studied in relation to their sociocultural matrix. Also, the many nonesthetic functions

of objects within a given society may be dealt with. Important as such studies are to our eventual understanding of artistic activity and its products in society and culture, they contribute only indirectly to the formulation of the kind of constructs required for a theory of art. Where is the locus of art: is it in objects, in the social or private uses of objects, in the production of objects? What are the structural components of art from a sociocultural standpoint: are they deducible from the formal elements of objects, or must we delineate a class of social activities before we can identify them?

The obstacles to the formulation of a sufficiently analytical concept of art in anthropology arise not only from the standard orientations of the discipline but from the nature of art itself. Writing of the role of those "norms of taste" which are commonly associated with the phenomenon of art, Parsons (1937:678–679) reminds the reader that he has dealt with these norms only in their relation to other more easily structurable categories of social action. This fact "lends them an unavoidable residual character which always arouses the suspicion that essential distinctions are being covered up." In proposing a "structure of integration and expression" in his scheme, Levy (1952:504) stresses that it must remain "in essence a residual category" until a greater degree of clarity and explicitness obtains in our concept of affects. The diffusion throughout all social behavior of the affectual phenomena that we find peculiarly manifested in the creative and expressive functions of art are as yet only crudely susceptible to analysis on the social level. Dewey's "panaesthetic" concept holds that any experience is esthetic to the extent it is *an* experience, and Cassirer maintains that the esthetic emerges from correspondences between the objective forms of symbolic process and subjective states of consciousness through intuition. The implication of consciousness, specificity of stimuli, and heightened affect as features of the esthetic experience is provocative in regard to the problem at hand, but it is hardly a guide to observable occurences in social relations. Insofar as the human imagination is engaged in ceaseless elaboration of experience into conscious forms, some entirely subjective in correspondence and some with an objective reference, the "esthetic" would seem to be largely beyond our grasp except through intensive study of the individual. However, it is reasonable to assume that there is an aspect of the task for which the anthropologist is specially equipped and for which he need not await a unified theory of perception from psychology or a codification of principles from the newer disciplines of "aesthetics" and "semiotics." Psychological or philosophical approaches to art and esthetics contribute to our purposes only to the extent to which our own premises are kept clearly in mind.

This paper is addressed to the initial problem of formulating a definition of art relevant to the sociocultural frame of reference, and derived from materials within range of observation by anthropologists. A definition of this kind must not be construed as an epitome of a new theory of art, but rather as a trial statement intended to bring this subject matter into our search for uniformity in terminology and research perspectives. The problem is essentially the differ-

entiation of a phenomenon which we commonly refer to as "art" from phenomena which are not art, and to discover, if possible, a more dynamic placement of the concepts art and esthetics in our general theory.

THE ESTHETIC

The rudiments of a definition of art in anthropology are suggested by Boas (1955:12–13) when proposing a distinction between the esthetic and the artistic. "Sometimes esthetic pleasure is released by natural forms," he writes. "The song of a bird may be beautiful; we may experience pleasure in viewing the form of a landscape or in viewing the movements of an animal; we may enjoy a natural taste or a smell, or a pleasant feeling; . . . all these have esthetic values but they are not art. On the other hand, a melody, a carving, a painting, a dance, a pantomime are esthetic productions, because they have been created by our own activities. . . . Form, and creation by our own activities are essential features of art." He makes a further useful distinction between two sources of artistic effect, "the one based on form alone, the other on ideas associated with form." The neglect of either would result in a one-sided theory of art. "It is not admissible," he points out, "to base all discussions of the manifestations of the art impulse upon the assumption that the expression of emotional states by significant forms must be the beginning of art, or that, like language, art is a form of expression . . . [for] significance of artistic form is neither universal nor can it be shown that it is necessarily older than form."

Though Boas does not pursue the theoretical lead offered by these distinctions, his brief argument implies an analytical separation of "form" from its manifold "effects" in human perception. The concepts of creative activity, form, and effects provide a clearly marked point of departure for a definition of art in social terms. A field observation may serve to illustrate our discussion.

In Western Liberia I once received a gift of four papayas from the headwife of a Gola Paramount Chief, presented to me by her sister. In making the presentation, the sister informed me that the fruit had been selected that day from a large number gathered in a distant village, that they were the largest, most flawless and beautiful of the lot, and that the chief's headwife had sent them to me as a token of regard for my family. It was indicated also that the gift signified that no day should pass without some such token passing between the chief's household and mine. After eulogizing our mutual qualifications for great and lasting friendship (replete with proverbs and niceties of Gola syntax), she placed her hands on the papayas and brought the proceeding to a close with a lengthy and gracefully executed blessing. She accepted my somewhat clumsy speech of gratitude as though it had pleased her more than anything else in the world, bowed low to touch my feet, and backed from the room with all the intentionally seductive humility of a proud Gola woman.

A group of young men informants were present in the room. When the woman had gone, their remarks indicated that I had received a fine gift in a most proper fashion. The woman had spoken well—in fact, she was widely known for her great ability, and was no doubt chosen for this task from among

the members of the chief's household. The papayas were indeed excellent, all uniform in color, size, and contour. They were passed around and handled during this discussion. My interpreter pointed out with mixed satisfaction and irony that their worth far exceeded any price they might bring in the market because the gift had been "blessed by good training." Another of the men—a highly accomplished woodcarver—placed two of the papayas on the table and to the amusement of all present began to elaborate upon the correspondences between the texture, size, shape, and ripeness of the fruit and the breasts of the chief's headwife, who was considered to be an exceptionally attractive woman for her age. It was suggested that she had given "her best part" as a gift and that the chief had been willing to "sacrifice much" for friendship. The entire episode was permeated by rather more excitement, pleasure, and attention to detail than was evident in the behavior of the group immediately before the interruption or after we had returned to work.

The exchange of gifts among the Gola is ordinarily a very matter-of-fact and business-like procedure. The form can be carried out with little more special concern than is required by our exchange of greeting cards over the year. For example, the chief and I regularly exchanged small gifts as a "conventional" function of my position as a stranger-guest in his area, and also as a "utilitarian" function of the mutual advantage to be gained politically, economically, and otherwise from our association. In the case of the four papayas, it was he who had ordered his headwife to send this relatively minor gift, and perhaps it was he who had suggested the gift be carried by her sister to enhance its otherwise negligible value by an effective presentation. As I might have expected, the gift was followed by a request later in the day for the use of my typewriter. These facts only serve to emphasize the special quality of this incident within its situational context. The participants seemed to pause during their performance of many other tasks to linger over the essence of a moment. An element of enhancement or particular enjoyment of experience was observed in the reaction to the woman's speech, the gift itself, and the comments of the young men. Had the chief sent me a sack of new rice with the usual cursory presentation, he might have achieved his ends—though not so gracefully or inexpensively. To achieve his ends as he wished, he brought to bear other means and created conditions in which values other than "economic" might function. It is the qualitative feature of the event involving the enhancement of experience and the present enjoyment of the intrinsic qualities of things that will be taken as the esthetic in this discussion.

The speech of the chief's sister-in-law, the four papayas, and the witty byplay of the woodcarver were in turn referents in the appreciative behavior of the participants. In this sense we may speak of them as "objects" of esthetic perception. Such objects are capable of being perceived as significant form—that is, they are capable of evoking significance through esthetic evaluation to which may be ascribed an affective aspect of enhancement or enjoyment, and a rational aspect of ideation. In effect, the elements and qualities of an esthetic

object constitute "raw" form—for example, the formal arrangement of the intrinsic elements of language, voice, gesture, and conceptual content of the woman's speech, or of the elements of mass, color, and texture of the papayas. The esthetic forms of these objects were the intrinsic elements perceived in relation to corresponding elements and qualities brought to bear upon the objects from the experience of the perceiver. Esthetic values are not intrinsic to the objects, but appear in the perception of esthetic form. The significance of any object—its "form"—can be ascertained only with reference to the esthetic values of the members of a given sociocultural system for whom it functions esthetically. Furthermore, it must be viewed in the context of specific action-situations which reveal its meaning and function for the individual members of a society.

If we were to attempt to structure this episode as a unit of esthetic activity, we would have to admit that a means-ends relationship is more symbolic than intrinsic to the action. The "residual character" which Parsons (1937:678–679) ascribes to the norms of taste associated with esthetics is evident here, for "in practically all concrete acts, whether their principal context is predominantly utilitarian or ritual, there is to be found an element of embellishment in respects referable to standards of taste." However, the episode described above was selected because of its predominantly esthetic character which was manifested in observable activity. In this regard we may assume that we are dealing with a special category of sociocultural phenomena to which Parsons has refered as "a whole class of concrete acts that are spoken of normally as artistic creation and appreciation, on the one hand, and recreation on the other, where the 'taste' element becomes predominant."

The characterization of a unit of social action as predominantly esthetic is derived primarily from inferences having to do with the quality of the action. A feature of enhancement and present enjoyment of experience was observed in relation to specific objects as points of reference. The placement of the esthetic object as a referent of esthetic activity and esthetic form as the locus of meaning and value, spares us much of the confusion attendant upon concepts of intuition formulated entirely with reference to experience within our own culture. The tendency to make a spontaneous identification of familiar objects was interpreted by Dewey (1916:17) as a manifestation of an intuitive process which causes meanings to become "intrinsic qualifications" of objects. "They are as much qualities of the objects in the situation as are red and black, hard and soft, square and round." Such a view is incompatible with the separation made in the above discussion between the elements and qualities of the esthetic object, and the meanings which emerge through the cognitive processes of perception. The terms "enhancement" and "enjoyment" have been used in a context which implies some awareness of specific sources of pleasure expressed in social relations. The immediacy of fulfillment in esthetic activity is suggested by the term "present enjoyment." This use of the terms excludes from consideration those more subjective states of euphoria for which

there is no conscious referent or clearly discernible articulation in behavior. Furthermore, the concept of "beauty" has been scrupulously avoided because it is so overlain by the philosophical and literary patina of our own civilization as to be all but useless in a cross-cultural context. In the present discussion the quality of esthetic activity has been ascribed both an affectual and a rational aspects. A special unity of emotional and cognitive elements obtains in the appreciation of experience for its own sake. The esthetic effect is more precisely identified as the especially meaningful, the new insight, the conscious unity of feeling, or the shock of recognition emerging from the correspondences perceived between the qualities of an esthetic object and their affinities in the subjective experience of the individual.

Our necessary emphasis upon that part of esthetic activity which is manifested in observable social situations provides at least some minimum basis for structuring such action in theory. The actors in situations of this kind may be assigned roles as appreciators. They are appreciators of objects which function as unique conditional factors in the esthetic process by virtue of particular arrangements of elements and qualities of intrinsic form capable of providing stimuli to esthetic perception. Other conditions involve norms of taste and specific social values which constitute a predisposing base or "set" for esthetic activity in general. Variation in the personality of participants is an important conditional factor, as is the "mood" or subjective effect held over from precursive events which to some extent condition the individual's readiness to make the perceptive relationships essential to esthetic response. The means of esthetic activity may be stated as a faculty of cognition by which values are selected, organized, and reinforced from the general experience of the individual in correspondence with the symbolic values evoked by the intrinsic elements and qualities of an object. It is this process of translation of "raw" form (the object) into symbolic or esthetic form which defines the means of esthetic activity. The ends of this activity would be the achievement of a degree of affective and rational fulfillment which constitutes an enhancement and present enjoyment of experience for its own sake.

Though our discussion seems to imply an aspect of conscious intention and manipulation in the processes of esthetic perception, it would not be possible to ascribe this to esthetic activity in general. The means-ends relationship has been inferred from the analysis of an actor-action situation which is only one of the levels of manifestation of esthetic behavior. That which is observable in social relations suggests analogy with the emergent crest of icebergs. We are not prepared to deal with the essentially psychological problems involving the sources and character of the esthetic impulse. One of these problems is whether or not chronological primacy can be attributed to esthetic perception, or to a need or other precondition for achievement of esthetic "ends." The instantaneity of esthetic effect in relation to a largely internal mode of articulation indicates the diffuse and "residual" character of the behavior which we have attempted to isolate in the observation of concrete acts.

THE ARTISTIC

In the episode which we have described as predominantly esthetic in character, there was evidence of another kind of behavior embedded in the general qualitative context of action, but separable because of certain unique features which identify it. The speech of the chief's sister-in-law and the humorous comments of the woodcarver were notable in this regard. These performances were "objects" of esthetic appreciation partly by virtue of the intention of their producers; the papayas became esthetic objects by virtue of the new meanings associated with them during the course of the event.

"Artistic enjoyment," wrote Boas, "is . . . based essentially upon the reaction of our minds to form. The same kind of enjoyment may be released by impressions received from forms that are not the handiwork of man, but they may not be considered as art, although the esthetic reaction is not different from the one we received from the contemplation or hearing of a work of art" (1955:349). Art is distinguished by an additional dimension—the creative manipulation of elements of form toward the production of esthetic objects. These products, it follows, are always public or objective presentations. To distinguish them from a class of esthetic objects in general, they will be referred to as *artistic objects*. Boas' use of the term "artistic enjoyment" to denote a specific effect of art is consistent with his view that the appreciation of art products involves the recognition of human workmanship, of style or "typical form," and of a degree of excellence. This suggests a further distinction between esthetic perception and artistic perception: the former involves recognition of the potentials of a given object for the enhancement or present enjoyment of experience, while the latter involves recognition of the potentials of given techniques and esthetic forms as means toward the production of new objects, which may in turn be perceived esthetically and artistically. Both the producer of art and the knowledgeable beholder engage in artistic perception. The chief's sister-in-law, for example, was well-known for her fine speeches, and the woodcarver was admired for his spontaneous wit. Whenever they spoke there was an expectation among their fellows of a certain degree of excellence and regularity of form anticipated from past performances. Following the event described above, the woman's speech and the woodcarver's comment were repeated as anecdotes about the village—always in context of the accumulative and typical successes emanating from the recognized talent of each performer. It is noteworthy that some weeks later the woodcarver produced a figurine which everyone took to be the chief's headwife because of certain proportions which had by that time become widely publicized. This figurine represents the only incident within my knowledge of the expression of humor or satirical caricature in Gola woodcarving.

The woman's speech and the woodcarver's comment were each products of specific acts which we will define as artistic activity. The actors in the inclusive unit of esthetic action were appreciators; but in the units of artistic action the actors are producers and their role may be designated as artist. The artistic

objects had two contexts—that of their appreciation and that of their production. In the first context they functioned as *means* to an end of esthetic activity; in the second context they are the *result* and function as *ends* of a creative activity. The papayas may be distinguished functionally by the fact that they remained conditional and instrumental in both contexts.

The emphasis upon skills of execution and conscious reference to esthetic processes directed to intended ends clearly delineates artistic from general esthetic activity. Technical skill and esthetic perception constitute the essential means of artistic activity, and it is the peculiar relationship between these means which provides us a theoretical separation between artistic creativity and other creative activities involving the application of specialized techniques to the solution of problems. The concept of "creativity" refers to a dynamic relationship obtaining between technology and certain subjective processes of cognition. There are many human activities which are creative in this sense, and one may find similar techniques and symbolic processes directed to many sorts of creative tasks. However, artistic creativity is to be distinguished by the predominance of esthetic processes in relation to skills of execution, and by the conscious intent to produce objective forms which are capable of being appreciated esthetically and artistically. This suggests that the content of artistic activity is especially qualitative, but that art is to be identified among a class of similar activities by its unique ends and products. Though no attempt has been made in this paper to define the qualitative, the writer is in fundamental agreement with the view of art as "controlled qualitative experience" put forth in an excellent recent discussion of the subject (Mills 1957). Art is stated to be "the creation, by manipulating a medium, of public objects or events which serve as deliberately organized sets of conditions for experience in the qualitative mode."

The same relationship obtains between artistic value and the artistic object as we have suggested for esthetic value and the esthetic object. These values are abstractions which arise from the perception of artistic form—that is, in the evaluation of the elements and qualities of the artistic object in correspondence with the experience of an individual and his recognition of the problems of production. Artistic form emerges from perception of the potential of a given medium for expressing a formal intention: the artistic object is the result of an attempt to externalize this formal perception. In this sense, the object is the purely descriptive aspect of form—that entity which is susceptible to sensory perception and which can be described in terms of a particular arrangement of intrinsic elements. Artistic form, however, refers to perception in a cognitive mode. The artistic object detached from the producer or from the sociocultural matrix of its production is, in a real sense, an artifact. There seems to be no good reason why the anthropologist should limit himself by choice to what the archeologist is limited to by necessity.

A sufficiently analytical theory of art requires a definition of art which is analytical in its construction. Placement of the artistic object as a result of

artistic action is useful in the delineation of art from non-art, and also suggests the structurability of art in social theory. The above discussion has focused upon the actor in the role of artist making use of artistic means in the pursuit of artistic ends. The conditions of art in a given society may be stated as the repertoire of technologies of that society, its available and prescribed media, and the particular systems of value which orient selection and organization of the qualitative aspects of experience. Reference must also be made to a tradition of conventional specifications, uses, incentives, and evaluations relating to the products of artistic activity.

The means of art are technical skills applied to media and referable to cognitive systems in which esthetic and artistic perception, as defined, predominate. Artistic means are selective, synthesizing, and qualitative. The ends of art are essentially the organization of elements of media into objective forms which represent a subjective intention of the artist. The stress on intention in this formulation is not meant to imply the precedence of "meaning" over "form" in the creative process. The form may not be fully significant to the artist until he has objectified it successfully. It may be modified drastically by limitations of technique and media, or by new perceptions occurring all along the line of production. Though the intention of the artist is to some extent "built into" his product, insofar as certain elements of style and form may identify it intrinsically as a product of human workmanship, these elements do not insure that it will be perceived as intended. The artist perceives his object as artistic form, just as any sensitive or knowledgeable beholder in his society may perceive it. But the general response to the product may have little or no connection with the artist's intention or with the artistic process. The conditions of its social presentation may be such as to minimize these factors in favor of nonesthetic or nonartistic affinities brought to bear on the object—perhaps to the point of its losing all identity as an artistic object.[2]

Furthermore, it must be pointed out that esthetic and artistic perception may function as means in a wide range of creative activities other than art, just as nonesthetic and nonartistic factors commonly function in the artistic process. Tools and skills are borrowed directly from other productive activities. Bodies of knowledge and systems of value derived from the entire range of the artist's social experience might be drawn upon. The ends of artistic activity are seldom restricted to what we have designated as essential ends. Rewards in the form of economic gain, improved self-evaluation, social approval, or identification with supernatural powers might function as auxiliary ends of artistic activity. The artist may hope to further some highly valued goal of his society with his work, or he may strenuously support a minority viewpoint. Few or many ends of this kind may attach themselves to artistic action without obscuring the essential ends of art.

The artistic object is the unique achievement of art, and without its production there is no art. As a result of artistic activity, it in turn becomes a condition of esthetic activity. But the product of art is not in itself art. It is

both an end and a precipitate of artistic action identifiable only by virtue of the processes which produced it. Art is a process manifested in human behavior, and its results are no more the locus of art than edifices are the locus of architecture, or a formula the locus of mathematics.

CONCLUSIONS

The concept of art proposed in this paper is clearly tentative and heuristic. No attempt will be made to reduce it to a compact, definitive statement. It has been presented as a set of trial formulations which anticipate a theoretical placement of matters of esthetics and art in social science research. The discussion has been guided by a conviction that cross-cultural investigations of art are essential to a theory of art, and require constructs which are sufficiently flexible to release the observer from dependence upon his private tastes as well as from those elaborate systems of formal evaluation and classification derived from a heritage of scholarly studies.

A definition of art is implicit in the following summary of considerations abstracted from this discussion:

1. A distinction between the qualitative experiences diffused throughout human behavior which we have defined as appreciative and esthetic, and those which are manifested in concrete activities which we have defined as creative and artistic.

2. The theoretical separation of the "artistic object" from the "forms" of its perception and from the activities involved in either its production or consumption. The term "object" was used in its inclusive definition. The esthetic object is taken to be any referent of esthetic activity whether in the mind of man or external to it. The artistic object is taken to be any formal end-product of artistic activity whether it be a performance in sound or movement, any combination of visual, auditory, tactile, olfactory, or other sense impressions conveyed through a permanent or impermanent medium. In the continuum of artistic and appreciative action it stands midway: artistic production—result—social response. Esthetic and artistic form emerge from specific processes of perception which relate the effects of objects to the social and cultural experience of individuals.

3. Art viewed as activity and process manifested in social relations with its locus in the producers of art. The problem of the delineation of art from non-art is thus made referable to the creative acts and processes of art rather than to the uses and functions of its products.

4. Art tentatively considered as a structure of social action involving actors in the role of artist employing essentially unique means in the pursuit of unique ends within a given sociocultural setting. Art as a system within and among systems of society and culture must be approached through social situations if its meanings, functions, and uses are to be discovered or understood. The identification of art as especially qualitative and integrating in its processes indicates its dynamic relation to other structures of society.

5. Finally, the implicit assumption was maintained throughout this dicussion that art must be considered in its manifold expressions in any society.

Herskovits (1951:348) has stated that "our difficulty in reaching a satisfactory explanation of why religious and artistic phenomena are universal has its counterpart in the difficulty we experience in defining them." It might be added that art in particular—by virtue of its consciously creative mode—represents man's most persistent effort to control the elements of his experience and to give new meanings to his private and social life. In the light of issues raised by a purely exploratory discussion, the problem of comparative art becomes a vast challenge to research in our discipline. This challenge addresses itself first of all to our preconceptions about art and to our reluctance to draw it from the shallows into the mainstream of interest.

NOTES

[1] An abridged version of this paper was read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, December, 1957. Research and writing were facilitated by grants from the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University, and this aid is gratefully acknowledged. I wish to thank Roy Sieber of the State University of Iowa, and Robert Merrill of the University of Chicago for many stimulating discussions while this paper was in preparation. I am also grateful to Ruth Marcus of Roosevelt University for reading the final draft and making a number of helpful suggestions. These acknowledgments are not meant to imply any especial endorsement of the formulations presented in the paper.

[2] An object, for example, which derives primary values from its function as token, souvenir, emblem, or holotype may or may not be a product of art. Problems of this kind, involving analogue and iconography, are at least as complex in cross-cultural research as they are in art criticism within Euro-American cultures, and any theory of art must eventually address itself to them. Though questions having to do with the "authenticity" of art, or a possible taxonomy of art are not made explicit in this paper, they were necessary considerations in the initial framing of concepts. Sorokin (1939:669) concluded that "the entire terminology—'pure' and 'impure' art, 'art for art's sake,' 'art for the sake of something else'—is very unsatisfactory," and proposed that "these poor shibboleths" be replaced by more analytic constructs. His approach to the comparison of art styles in terms of the values of particular societies, the role of artists within the social structure, and the kind of integration characteristic of the societies in which artists and their products function is a penetrating one, and despite its large-scale historical generalizations indicates the possibility at least of relating "types" of art to "types" of societies. Cassirer's *mimetic*, *analogical* and *symbolic* "stages" of art—considered apart from the suggestion of developmental sequence—also provides useful leads in this regard (see Gilbert 1949:607–620; and Cassirer 1944:Chapt. IX, passim).

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Bone Tools and Porcupine Gnawing

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IN THE tenth memoir of the Transvaal Museum (1957) I devoted considered attention to the part played by porcupines in the process of bone collecting. In a recent issue of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST there appeared a paper by Ronald Singer (1956), in which he criticized Jolly's statement that appeared in a paper, edited by Professor M. R. Drennan and published in the *Illustrated London News* of September 26, 1953, concerning the Saldanha skull.

Jolly stated "there are also a number of new occurrences, such as the presence amongst these early cultures of crude bone implements shaped to form chisels"; and in one of the illustrations (Figure 1) in that article the tools in question were described as "fossilized bone chisels made by prehistoric man from the metacarpal bones of horse: found at Hopefield and for the first time associated with the older South African cultures."

Subsequently, William L. Straus Jr. (1957), in an article on *Saldanha Man and his culture*, quoted Singer's article as stating that the bones in question are not metacarpals but metatarsals; that they exhibit furrows such as would be made by the teeth of carnivores; and that bones of other fossil mammals from the same site also were found to exhibit manifestations of tooth marks or fragmentation which produced bizarre shapes resembling chisels, cleavers, and the like.

Since Singer also found recent bones from a cave in Fish Hoek that showed what he regarded as corroborative evidence of mutilation by the teeth of carnivora, and since Singer had concluded therefrom that "there can be no doubt" that the so-called "bone chisels" or implements thought to have been made by man are actually bone fragments chewed by carnivores and then subjected to weathering, Straus (ibid.) blindly accepted Singer's conclusion and ventured even further to say:

> This study of Singer's has implications that extend beyond any interpretation of the cultural capacities of Saldanha Man. It indicates the need for a careful assessment of the reality of other early, supposed bone tools, such as those of the so-called "osteodontokeratic culture" recently attributed by Dart to the fossil Australopithecinae of Makapansgat—those early Pleistocene 'man-apes' of South Africa.

The fact that carnivores and rodents gnaw bones is not novel; it has been recognized by numerous observers for many years. It has also been shown repeatedly that the gnawing of porcupines can produce extremely sharp edges on smoothed surfaces, such as might lead tyros to mistake some porcupine artifacts for tools. Whether porcupines and carnivores were responsible for all the sharpening, that occurred in the specific instances described by Jolly (1953) and claimed by Singer (1956) to be such, I am not able to state because I have

not examined the specimens critically. Certainly Singer's illustrations, as they stand, have not demonstrated that porcupines and carnivores did all the sharpening. Further he depicted a third specimen of equid metatarsal (512) from Hopefield with a form similar to Jolly's two previous specimens (1378 and 1379), whose fractured surface, in his own words "has not been gnawed as much or shaped as smoothly as the latter (1379)."

What I am concerned with here, however, are archeological facts independent of porcupines or carnivores, which both Singer and Straus have failed to take into account: first, that using bones as chisels or gouges is a human practice not restricted to South Africa; second, that Middle Stone Age man did use bone objects of chisel form in South Africa; and third, that the scarring by porcupine incisors of bones, or of those bone surfaces that have been previously split or otherwise prepared by human beings, does not eliminate their previous preparation and employment by human beings as tools.

First, to demonstrate the recent use of bone chisels upon wood, I am here reproducing two pictures (see Plates 1a and 1b) from Donald F. Thomson (1936), who described the use by the Koko Tai'yuri aborigines of the Edward River on the Gulf of Carpentaria, North Queensland, of stone axes, pounding stones, bone gouges, and bone fish hooks. They are fishermen, and employ "wooden trough-like vessels, called *tawat*, hollowed out of the soft wood of the tree *Gryocarpus Jacquini*. . . for carrying water and for the preparation of *maj dantj* (pulverized dry mesocarp, hard endocarp and seed of the tea-tree *Melaleuca*). For the manufacture of these *tawat* bone gouges (Plate ix No. 1) are made from the tibiae of the emu and kangaroo. These bone gouges, many of them very old and exhibiting unmistakable evidence of long service, were in use on the Edward River. . . The medullary cavity of the bone is generally filled with a plug of bark or wood to prevent the entry of chips and splinters. A typical example is twelve and a half inches in length. The shaft is cut away for a distance of nearly two and a half inches and is sharpened to a chisel edge. In use the gouge is held in the grip shown in Plate x (hand encircling shaft) and is always worked towards the body by the user, never away from it."

Second, to show bone splitting and bone gouges or chisels made by Stone Age man in South Africa, I have selected some bone objects (Plates 2 & 3) from a cache of 3626 osteodontokeratic objects extracted by Revill Mason from a clay deposit in a Middle Stone Age vlei, or swamp site at Kalkbank 45 miles northwest of Pietersburg in the Central Transvaal and within 70 miles of Makapansgat valley. The late phase of the Middle Stone Age culture accompanying these Kalkbank osteodontokeratic fragments corresponds with that found in a stratum of the Cave of Hearths in the Makapansgat Valley for which a carbon dating of the order of 15,100 $\pm$ 730 years was secured by W. F. Libby (Oakley 1954).

The appearances of these Kalkbank bones, especially of the humeri, radii, and metatarsals and the flakes derived from their splitting, differ in form from Jolly's chisels; but they resemble so closely those of the corresponding elements which I had been examining after their extraction from the australo-

PLATE 1A

Bone gouges manufactured and used by Australian aborigines of the Edward River on the Gulf of Carpentaria and described by Donald F. Thomson (1936).

PLATE 1B

An Australian aboriginal fisherman using the bone gouge (vide Thomson op. cit.)

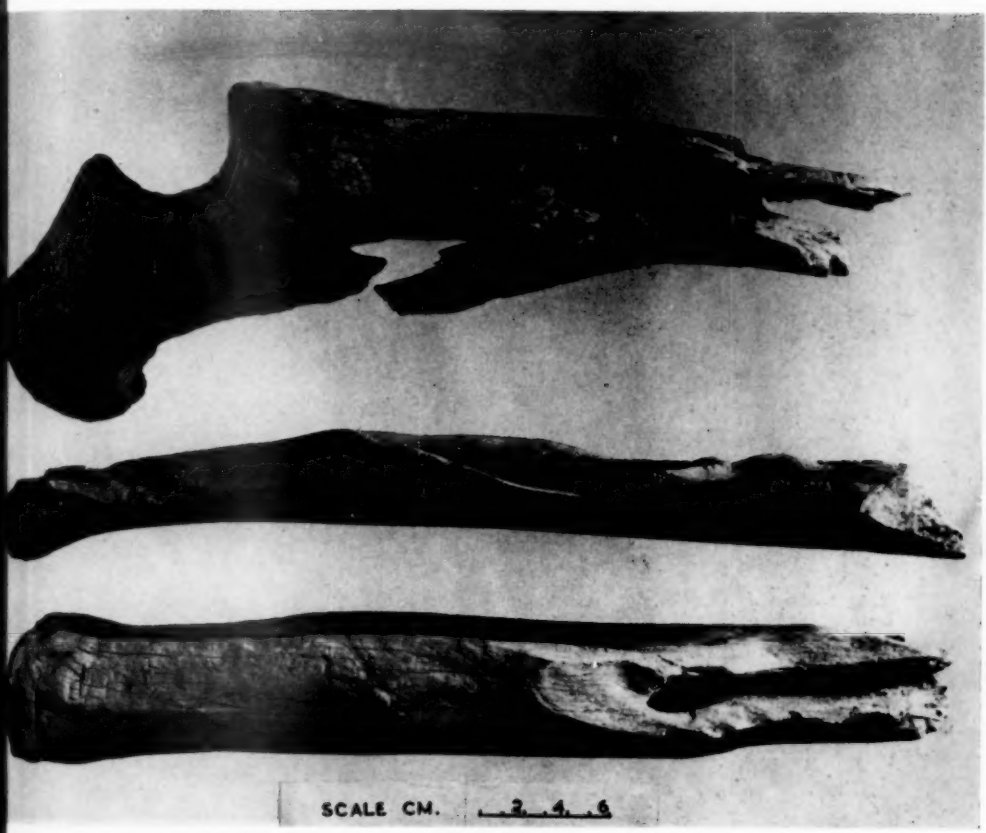

PLATE 2

The three giraffe bones from the Kalkbank.

1. *Top:* Middle Stone Age site. A radio-ulna specimen of which the ulna portion has been broken through apparently as a result of chopping with an axe. The radius portion shows distinctly the marks of the chopping tool and was apparently trimmed distally, though the form of the tool is not apparent owing to breakage.
2. *Middle:* A metatarsal split longitudinally but irregularly by a chopping tool.
3. *Bottom:* A metacarpal whose shaft shows the chopping marks of the tool and whose distal end was trimmed to form a chisel-like or gouge-form tool.

PLATE 3A

Three antelope metatarsal fragments from the Kalkbank Middle Stone Age site.

Center: The bone shows marks of porcupine gnawing over almost the entire length of the shaft; but prior to its having served as a tooth-sharpening object it had been trimmed to a point by human hands.

Left and Right: Bones split longitudinally and skilfully to display the contrast between fractured surfaces of the resultant bone flakes when they have been gnawed (left) and when they have not been gnawed (right) by porcupines.

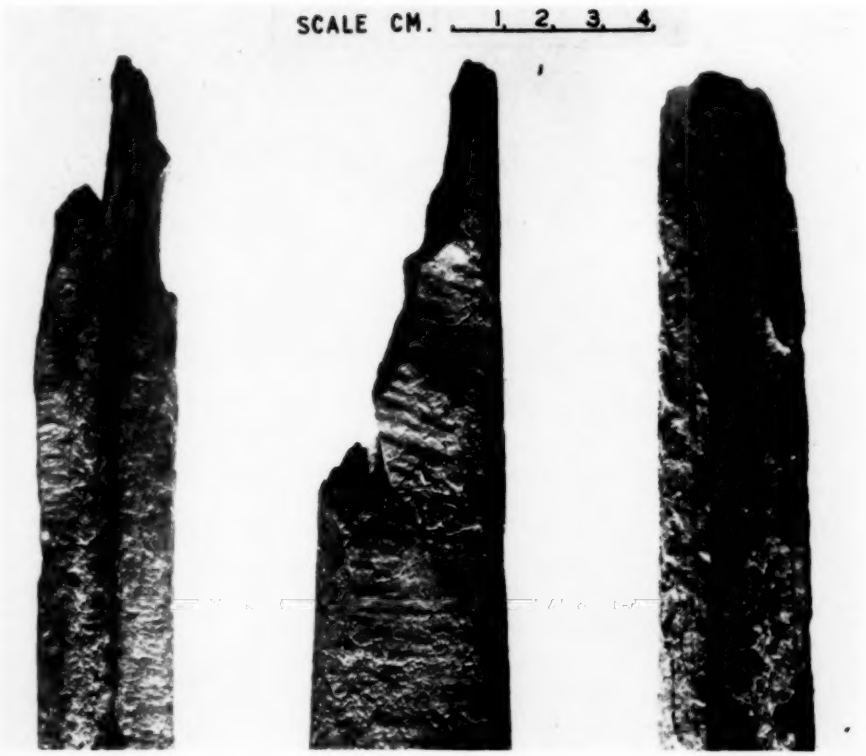

PLATE 3B

The magnified extremities of the three antelope bone fragments to display the aforementioned contrasts clearly and to illustrate the chisel and pointed forms of tool secured by this Middle Stone Age osteodontokeratic technique when applied to antelope metatarsal bones.

pithecine grey breccia at the Makapansgat Limeworks, that I am preparing a more detailed study of all the Kalkbank osteodontokeratic objects for publication elsewhere. The general statistics and features of the bone fragments can meanwhile be stated here.

Despite the fact that the Kalkbank osteodontokeratic fragments all came from a human camping site, they include 1040 cranial fragments of which no less than 131 were gnawed, 847 post-cranial fragments of which no less than 328 were gnawed, 1101 flakes identifiable as to their bony source of which no less than 172 were gnawed, and 631 flakes not identifiable as to source of which no less than 272 were gnawed by porcupines. In other words, there were extracted from this Kalkbank site 3619 osteodontokeratic fragments of which no less than 903 were gnawed by procupines. All these fragments have been carefully examined by James W. Kitching and G. de Graaff as well as myself; and, where necessary, by means of magnifying glasses, in order to discover marks of porcupine gnawing.

The first fact that emerges from this Kalkbank deposit, therefore, is that porcupine gnawing, even when it affects 24.95 percent of the bones in a deposit, does not prove that porcupines collected or split the bones that they gnawed.

A certain number, but relatively very few, of these bones also carry gnawing marks which are conceivably those of carnivora; but neither the marks of the teeth of carnivora nor those of the porcupine incisors have transformed this patently man-made cache of osteodontokeratic fragments accompanied by stone tools into a heap of bones collected by either or by both of these types of creatures. In other words, such a mixed deposit, demonstrating the activities of both men and porcupines, imposes upon us the puzzle of determining the relative parts played by each at that site.

Similarly, in the Cave of Hearths itself a considerable proportion of the osteodontokeratic remains accompanying the more prevalent stone artifacts in its various horizons bear the marks of porcupine gnawing. In due course, complete analyses (now in preparation) of the osteodontokeratic materials accompanying these Stone Age cultures in the Cave of Hearths (and the proportions thereof gnawed by porcupines) will be published for comparison with the osteodontokeratic remains found at Kalkbank and in the australopithecine grey breccia at Limeworks.

Meanwhile, it is sufficient to reiterate that both Kalkbank and the Cave of Hearths exhibit patently the inevitable complications of African bone heaps, to which I drew attention (1957:6) when discussing the frequent symbiosis of hyenas (or other carnivora) and porcupines, namely "the presence of human bones and nearby human inhabitations: complications such as are not easily evaded in any part of South Africa even in the Kalahari desert today and presumably also during the entire Pleistocene period."

These complications of the presence of man and also of his bone implements occurred not only at Kalkbank and in the Cave of Hearths but also—if

Jolly was right—at Hopefield; nor have the observations of Singer (1956), so far reported, eliminated those possible complications from the "cave" at Fish Hoek. For such elimination from African deposits it would first be necessary to examine the entire osteodontokeratic contents of each deposit concerned, or at least a representative cross-section of each deposit; and to present thoroughgoing analyses of the relative incidences of its constituent skeletal elements and the percentage of porcupine and human, or other interference with those elements, as has been done so far only for the Limeworks deposit.

The primary value of the Kalkbank site—as far as Singer's and Straus's contentions are concerned—is that three of the bony elements, a radio-ulna, a metatarsal, and a metacarpal, were derived from giraffe; they were so huge that in order to shape or split them, Middle Stone Age man had to employ a stone-axe or some sharp, hafted stone tool. In consequence, our second illustration (Plate 2) displays the marks of his sharp stone tool and the resultant splitting and shaping so clearly upon them that confusion of the axe marks with the marks of carnivore, rodent, or any other type of mammalian tooth is impossible. Further, we have been unable to find any marks of porcupine gnawing upon them. The ulnar portion of the hacked radio-ulna fragment was broken, probably by hacking, and its distal portion has been somewhat pointed by that process but does not present an obvious tool form; the metatarsal has also been split longitudinally in a crude way; the metacarpal, however, has been hacked distally to form a chisel-like edge.

The third illustration exhibits from the same deposit an artificially-pointed antelope metatarsal and two antelope metatarsal bone flakes formed by splitting the bone longitudinally. On almost the whole length of the shaft of the pointed metatarsal and on a restricted part of its flaked surface (not visible in this picture), transversely-running parallel marks of porcupine incisors can be detected. The surface of the one (left) metatarsal flake is included to exhibit an example of restricted areas of a previously split bone gnawed by a porcupine. The other (right) split metatarsal flake, whose chisel-like edge has been almost perfectly preserved, presents no trace of porcupine gnawing. These comparisons are patent in the enlarged picture. The bone-flake surfaces prepared by Middle Stone Age man at Kalkbank were or were not gnawed by porcupines as chance determined. As stated already, about 25 percent had been gnawed to a greater or lesser extent by porcupines.

It is self-evident that these bone-flakes were deliberately fashioned by a bone-splitting technique and did not result from either the chancy bone-cracking of carnivora or bone-edge sharpening of porcupines at Kalkbank. Obviously, too, the gnawing activities of carnivora or rodents upon bones, teeth, and horn cores at Hopefield, or at any other site where human remains have been discovered, cannot in any way be presumed to exclude the handiwork of mankind. Further, neither porcupine nor carnivore gnawings absolve archeologists, as has been so incautiously assumed in the past, from the responsibility of meticulously examining every fragment of osteodontokeratic as well as

lithic evidence recovered from known human or suspected protohuman sites, if they hope to gain a more thorough understanding of the presence and meaning of osteodontokeratic elements in human prehistory.

NOTE

[1] It is a pleasure to acknowledge the invaluable assistance received through the collection made by R. Mason and in the cleaning, identification, restoration, sorting, analysis and examination of the bones especially by James W. Kitching and also by G. de Graaff, in the preparation of the illustrations by A. D. Bensuson, A. M. Shevitz, and Miss V. de Wet, and the typing by Mrs. B. E. Wilson.

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Early Jesuit Missionaries: A Suggestion for Further Study

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IN THE August, 1956 issue of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, M. O. W. Jeffreys compared Gillin's principles of directed cultural change with some practices of the Roman Catholic Church. Jeffreys drew attention to Pope Gregory I's letter of instruction in 601 to Augustine and Melletus on how they should convert the wild British, and implied that Gregory's principles of accommodation operated continuously throughout the Church from 601 until 1683 when Fr. Merolla, a Capuchin monk, applied them in the Belgian Congo.

This picture of continuity in Church policy is misleading for two reasons. First, it overlooks the fact that there was a struggle within the Catholic Church in the 16th and 17th centuries to gain acceptance for the policy of accommodation as practiced by St. Paul and Gregory I. Second, it overlooks the source of this revitalization of Gregory's principles—the Jesuits, who have been the best example of missionary effort to direct cultural change. Not only did the Jesuits systematically put into practice the principles now advocated by Gillin, but they also assumed a position analogous to the modern attitude of cultural relativism, a position which other missionary groups failed to adopt.

From the beginning the Catholic Church had proved itself adaptable and flexible in its dealings with heathens. But as Europe became Christianized and as the Church gained in power, it tended to become more rigorous in its demands for orthodoxy and less flexible in its dealings with non-Christians. With the rise of Protestantism and the counter-reformation the Church became even more unyielding. Unfortunately, most priests believed that "the Christians are right, the pagans are wrong." Proceeding from this assumption, churchmen made little or no effort to understand the non-Christian's point of view (Broderick 1957:93).

There was division within the Church over the issue of how far missionaries should compromise with pagan customs in order to win converts; the Jesuits led the movement for accommodation and adaptation (Pastor 1938 XXIX:250–251). Citing the early Christian and medieval practices of St. Paul and Gregory I, the Jesuits struggled to win over the rest of the Church. Given the state of historical scholarship it was no wonder that few churchmen were aware of or followed the traditions of Gregory I.

Rather than obeying Gregory's instructions, the missionaries of the 16th century ignored them. They did not try to work through the indigenous culture; at first they did not even learn the local languages. They were more concerned with the number of converts than with their instruction. Furthermore, the first missionaries to the New World destroyed the pagan religion; they did not adapt it to Christianity (Pastor 1929 XVIII:350). Thus the Franciscans did not follow Gregory's idea of using pagan temples and rites for Chris-

tian ceremonies. By 1531 the Franciscans had pulled down 500 Aztec temples and broken 20,000 idols (Pastor 1924 XIII:299), and even the Jesuit Xavier was not above violence (Broderick 1957:90–91).

Instead of the smooth, uninterrupted continuity of tradition implied by Jeffreys, the historical record shows the stumbling efforts of the Jesuits to rediscover and to expand the policy of accommodation. Experience taught them the need to make concessions to existing customs, to link indigenous beliefs and morals to Christian principles (Pastor 1938 XXIX:250). But it was necessary to fight for these ideas before they won acceptance, and many Jesuit practices were never followed by other missionaries (Pastor 1937 XXV:354, 359–360).

That the Capuchin Fr. Merolla could act as he did in the Belgian Congo was due to the example of the Jesuits and their struggle to win over the Church to the policy of conforming "to the custom and usages of the peoples among whom they wished to work" (Pastor 1930 XX:468). However, the Jesuits were not always successful in convincing the Church, and the relativism of Jesuit missionaries continually got the order into trouble with the Inquisition. The main opponents of the Jesuit policy of compromise were the Franciscans (of which the Capuchins are a more austere branch) and the Dominicans (Pastor 1940 XXXI:163–170; XXXII:649–650). These orders, being motivated more by the spirit of the Conquistadores than by the spirit of Gregory, scorned discretion and compromise (Pastor 1938 XXIX:250–251).[1]

Experience with pagans and nonbelievers did not merely help the Jesuits to develop methods of directing cultural change, but forced them to adopt a position of relativism in order to deal with the diversity of conditions encountered. Although, along with Montaigne, the Jesuits came to accept a kind of cultural relativism, they avoided both the scepticism of Montaigne and the absurd dilemmas posed by a strict adherence to cultural relativism. The soldiers of Loyola might profitably be restudied.

The Jesuit technique was to assume "a thousand masks," being all things to all men and with "holy cunning" accepting the limitations imposed by the local situation. Rather than destroy and condemn what they found, they tried to reshape and reorient existing practices and beliefs in order to establish a common ground on which to begin conversion. Then, by slowly proving the superiority of their own ideas, the Jesuits were able to work to win the souls of men with tact and forbearance, not with rudeness and impatience.

Although they generally learned from their mistakes and hence avoided impoverishing the pagan culture, all Jesuits certainly did not possess these qualities, nor did they completely avoid the mistakes of modern missionaries. For example, Francis Xavier, first Jesuit to go to India in 1542, failed to show respect for the Hindu religion. He did not realize the value of the principle of partial truth which enabled his successors de Nobili, Ricci, and Beschi to show respect for the religions of India and China. Where Xavier had worked among the poor, the later Jesuits, acting in harmony with Loyola's notion of

obtaining power by influencing important people, chose to infiltrate the ranks of the Brahmins first (Broderick 1957:90–96).

Robert de Nobili trained himself to be a Brahmin; he wore their clothes and he obeyed the laws of Hinduism, neither partaking of meat and wine nor talking to the lower castes. He spoke the Brahmin language and had an extraordinary knowledge of Sanskrit and Indian poetry. Under this guise, de Nobili gradually showed the agreement between Brahmin and Christian teaching. He did not condemn or show contempt for Brahmin beliefs, but pointed out that Christianity was only a more perfect form of religion. Hence it became possible for Brahmins to become Christians in belief without alienating themselves from the traditional forms of Indian society (Fülöp-Miller 1930:223–228).

Despite the successes of de Nobili, he met opposition from other missionary groups. In 1615 he was tried by the Inquisition, but was cleared after a severe ordeal. And some of the de Nobili techniques were accepted, with the result that the principles of St. Paul and Gregory were extended and broadened to meet new challenges (Pastor 1937 XXV:359–361).

The most brilliant group of Jesuits were those who labored to convert China. Led by Fr. Ricci, the Jesuits came to China in 1583 and tried to gain entrance first into the Mandarin class, then into the Imperial court. With tact and caution Ricci won the respect of the Chinese literati. He never openly declared that Christianity had anything to teach the cultivated Chinese, but his learning and wisdom soon won him the respect of the scholars. Gently he proved the superiority of Western science and mathematics and drew analogies between Confucius and Christ. But Ricci's method of adaptation was opposed by the Franciscans and Dominicans for 150 years (Pastor 1937 XXV:354–355; 1940 XXXII:649–651). Nevertheless, Ricci's successors, Schall, Benoit, and Gerbillon—all equally able, circumspect, and flexible—continued his policy of accommodation (Fülöp-Miller 1930:235–264).

The Franciscans and Dominicans had swooped down upon China aflame with hopes of converting the pagans, but failed because they refused to compromise with existing customs and beliefs. Whereas the Jesuits had humbly proved the superiority of certain aspects of Western culture, the Franciscans and Dominicans arrogantly announced that superiority and demanded that the Chinese conform. To the Franciscans, even Confucius and the Emperor were no better than heathens. To so insult what was revered tried the patience and good manners of the Chinese, and the friars wound up in jail (Pastor 1938 XXIX:250–251).

The two orders continued to attack the Jesuits, accusing them of falsehood, profanity, and being undignified in the way they converted the Chinese. The Jesuits were charged with allowing superstitions to continue, wearing the robes of the Chinese scholar during Mass, and saying the Mass in Chinese. Among the "crimes" of the Jesuits were failure to anoint the face, shoulders, and heart of newly baptized women when the ritual of the Church demanded it, and allowing Chinese converts to join in the family rites honoring the dead.

To the Franciscans and Dominicans such practices as burning strips of paper and setting out food and drink for the dead were pagan and sinful. In a frenzy almost, they announced that the Jesuits not only tolerated these rites but joined in the ceremonies (Pastor 1940 XXXI:163–170, 408). To all of this nonsense the Jesuits replied reasonably.

They pointed out that, in the first place, the Chinese were proud of their language, and that allowing the Chinese to use the vernacular gave them a sense of participation in the Christian religion. In order to capitalize on this natural pride and desirable sense of participation, the Jesuits argued that it was logical to wear the scholar's robes and to say the Mass in Chinese. In the second place, it would not be tactful or in good taste to anoint the bodies of Chinese women because the Chinese did not approve of their women being touched. In answer to the charge of encouraging Chinese ancestor worship, the Jesuits replied that these rites were only acts of piety and reverence for the dead. Furthermore, to have forbidden their observance would have needlessly alienated the Christian convert from his family and society. The most damning criticism of the Jesuits was that they had not told the Chinese about the crucifixion of Christ. Since crucifixion was regarded as a disgrace by the Chinese, the Jesuits felt it would have been foolish to try to convert people through the symbol of the cross. The Jesuits therefore accepted the situation; they neither denied nor announced Christ's crucifixion, but waited until the converts had attained a deeper understanding of Catholicism before explaining to them the meaning of Calvary (Fülöp-Miller 1930:264–270; Pastor 1940 XXXII:649–651).

It may be argued that it was easy to be tolerant and tactful with civilized peoples such as the Brahmins and the Chinese but not with more primitive peoples. Was it possible to avoid arrogance and impatience with wild Hurons?

As they acquired knowledge of the North American Indian languages, customs, and habits, the Jesuit fathers asked for understanding and charity for Indian conduct. The Indians were not animals or savages, the Jesuits wrote in their reports to Europe. Fr. Le Jeune argued that Indians could not be bound by all European laws and standards, nor should they be expected to behave as Europeans (Kennedy 1950:104–108). Moreover, he insisted that their way of life had elements superior to European practices. With rare insight, Le Jeune saw the relativity of culture and, in a tone similar to Montaigne, wrote in 1633—"Oh, how feeble is the judgement of men. Some find beauty where others see only ugliness. The most beautiful teeth in France are the whitest, in the Maldive Island whiteness of the teeth is a deformity, they redden them to be beautiful. And in Cochin-China, if I recall aright they painted them black. Who is right?" (Kennedy 1950:103). Chastened by their experience, the Jesuits became more tolerant and humble before the diversity of man's behavior—"The world is full of variety and inconsistency and one will never find permanence" (Kennedy 1950:103).

The Jesuits therefore did not scorn the Indian culture but through study tried to discover elements in Indian life common to Christianity, so that they might build bridges between the two ways of life.

The lengths to which the Jesuits would go in identifying themselves with a people appalled their opponents and shocked their friends. They even took the warpath with their new disciples, the Hurons, against the Iroquois. Then in Latin America, when the Spanish colonists threatened the well-being of the Indians, the Jesuits withdrew into the jungle and set up a fantastic Indian state in Paraguay. In this "forest Utopia" the Jesuits ruled as benevolent despots and fashioned a state which met the real needs of the Indians. In contrast to modern missionaries (at least up to the La Zoute Conference of Protestant Missions in 1926), the Jesuits preserved tribal traditions and memories, and encouraged amusements such as dancing, games, and festivals. Christianity became a joy, not a puritanical burden. In their efforts to protect the Indians against slavery and degradation by colonists, they even defied the kings of Spain and Portugal when they organized an Indian army to fight off the Portuguese (Fülöp-Miller 1930:283–298; Dunne 1947).

How can we account for Jesuit tolerance and relativism? Despite some doubts on the part of Franciscan and Dominican theologians, the Jesuits were, after all, Catholics. Yet their conduct was different from other Catholic orders and sharply in contrast with Protestant missionary efforts.[2] Certainly the Jesuit system of field reports helped by giving the order first-hand accounts of the customs and habits of various peoples. Faced with such a welter of different systems, morals, and institutions, some kind of relativism was essential if they wished to succeed.

Yet if this relative approach were all, they would have been no better off than Montaigne. In addition to their realization of the relativity of human customs and codes, the Jesuits also had a more flexible system of moral philosophy and a broader concept of natural law than did other Catholic missionaries.

Following the Nichomachean Ethics, the Jesuits rejected Plato's notion that ethics were of divine origin, requiring a continual striving by man to attain an unattainable ideal which lay outside of existence. For the Jesuits, virtue was attainable and the rules for attaining it were to be found in man's nature. There were no moral universals, no ideals which called all men at the same time, nor could one moral code be applied indiscriminately to Europeans, Hurons, and Chinese. Since there were no universally applicable ethical principles, morality became a matter of conscience related to the needs of everyday life and dependent upon the level of civilization attained by each man in his particular society. Hence, rather than work from strict inflexible principles of morality, the Jesuits first considered the differences and peculiarities of men and the variety of circumstances which men faced with their different moral equipment or knowledge (Fülöp-Miller 1930:142–166).

The guide to moral law, then, was not the divine ideal but human nature. The Jesuits recognized that the Platonic ideal was impractical not only for Christians but especially for pagans. They sought a practical system of morality that the ordinary man could live up to, and were willing to leave abstract ideals to the Jansenists (Fülöp-Miller 1930:194–198).

As a result, the Jesuits could be more tolerant in their judgment of human

failings than could the Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, or Augustinians. Without going into the details of this theological debate, the Jesuit position was called "Probabilism"—"Lex dubia non obligat" (Fülöp-Miller 1930:186–189). However, the relevance of this moral debate was that Probabilism allowed the Jesuits to avoid judgment of non-Christian cultures on the basis of absolute moral standards; they argued that moral laws did not bind absolutely, but varied with circumstances and knowledge. Since there were cultural differences between Christian and non-Christian societies, it was not realistic to hold the more primitive culture responsible for the laws which bound the more advanced culture (Kennedy 1950:104–108).

Then, too, the Jesuit concept of natural law aided them in adopting a position of relativism. Thus, if a primitive people had not perceived clearly the natural laws governing mankind, they should not be condemned but instead should patiently and gradually be made aware of the superiority of the higher culture's vision of the natural law.

Natural law is nothing more than awareness of the normality of human functions and of the essential inclinations of human nature. From this awareness of his nature, man developed his various moral principles and social regulations. The content of natural law represents the accumulated wisdom of humanity, which best allows mankind to develop his human potential. Obviously the awareness of these laws of nature has varied from culture to culture and they were known with more or less error by different peoples (Maritain 1951:81–90). Since the content of natural law was neither fixed nor fully known, it was evident that a "heteronomous morality" must be adopted. Absolute certitude was impossible in questions of morality. Absolute moral standards did not exist; therefore, the Jesuits demanded only such certitude and virtue as man could attain. General Christian morality was not binding for an individual living in another culture until such time as his moral sense could be awakened, and it was possible for him to observe consistently the moral dicta of Christianity (Maritain 1951:84–95).

Intriguers, rebels, hypocrites, casuists, have all been terms applied to the Jesuits. They have been attacked for tolerating, and compromising with, heathen customs and accused of profaning Christianity by adapting pagan rituals to Christian uses. Yet I suspect the deeds which were condemned by an earlier period might find favor today. While the easy conscience of the Jesuits which did not make harsh demands upon human nature may be repugnant to the idealist or puritan, it seems realistic and humane in comparison with later missionary practices. Protestant writers like Harnack may attack Jesuit ethics for being base and for being guilty of making too many concessions to the weaknesses of man, but anthropologists probably would praise them for their relativism and their awareness of the different levels of cultural development which divide men and make it impossible to apply strictly the moral rules of one society to another.

Like the anthropologist, the Jesuit was in sympathy with mankind's multitudinous efforts to wrestle with the problems posed by the human pre-

dicament. Le Jeune would have agreed with Benedict's notion that all cultures are to be valued; so also would de Nobili, who found great truths imbedded in the Hindu religion. The Jesuits would agree with modern cultural relativists that no culture had a monopoly on the awareness of the demands of being human, nor did any culture know the full commands of natural law (Maritain 1945:76–106).

However, Ricci and Le Jeune would have argued that one cannot maintain a position of ethical neutrality; it is possible to judge and evaluate cultures, to determine what is good and bad in a culture, and what is suitable and unsuitable for all men. Not that such judgments would ever be easy or infallible or absolute—"The world is full of variety and inconsistency and one will never find permanence" (Kennedy 1950:103). Although made humble by their experiences and tempted to ask "Who is right?", the Jesuits would still judge. But their judgment in part transcended the narrow limits of their European culture; their criterion was that man has the need to satisfy the essential tendencies of his nature, but that the things necessary for the development and growth of man may differ (Maritain 1945:53–72). The Jesuits simply had sufficient breadth of vision to comprehend that various means may be used to attain one end. Unfortunately, as Samuel Johnson pointed out, "The great differences that disturb the peace of mankind are not about ends, but means."

The basis of their judgment was thus akin to the position reached by Redfield: one cannot be neutral toward ideas and practices which make man more human, which free him from the tyranny of ignorance, and which allow him more fully to develop his human nature (Redfield 1953:161–165). Natural law was the term used by the Jesuits; properly understood it is analogous to Kluckhohn's "conditional absolutes" or Firth's idea that "as some factors are discernible in the basic requirements of all societies, so certain moral absolutes exist" (Redfield 1953:142, 143). The Jesuits knew that no man or institution would ever uncover the full meaning of natural law, for the concept of natural law was not static. Rather, it was flexible and dynamic, developing with man as he grew in self-awareness and civility. Moral absolutes therefore were "conditional absolutes"; they potentially bound all men, but knowledge of them varied from people to people and they were conceived differently by different cultures.

Not until 1814 was the Company of Jesus restored to its role as teacher and missionary. It would be interesting to see whether their tactics remained the same or whether they were forced to temper their relativism and become like other missionaries. That the lessons of the early Jesuits were not widely applied is evident. Today missionaries realize that in most areas they have failed to direct successfully the process of cultural change. In theory, the Protestant Missionary Conference at La Zoute in 1926 remedied this defect, but practices vary widely among Protestant groups. It is also evident that Catholic missionaries have not solved the problem. The Liturgical Conference of the Catholic Church, held at Assisi in 1956, produced a criticism of missionaries by

Bishop Wilhelm Van Bekkum of Indonesia. Bishop Bekkum charged missionaries with "destroying the pagan culture" and thereby "impoverishing the native cultural patrimony" (Jung 1956:193). In words reminiscent of Gregory I and the Jesuits, Bishop Bekkum insisted that to Christianize pagans we must "adopt and adapt native customs in our worship and give them a greater opportunity for participation" (Jung 1956:193–194).

For these reasons I suggest that the reports of the early Jesuit missionaries might be of value in filling gaps in our knowledge of early cultural contacts, showing not only how they directed cultural change, but how they avoided ethical neutralism without falling victim to ethical absolutism.

NOTES

[1] Early Catholic missionary work, especially among the Spanish clergy, was conceived of as an adjunct of military conquest.

[2] The Jesuits were more accomodating because they were the most rationalistic of the orders; they were the most educated. Likewise, as the spearhead of the counter-reformation they worked in areas (e.g. Northern Germany) where military conquest failed and adaptation was essential.

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VERE GORDON CHILDE

1892–1957*

V. GORDON CHILDE, one of archeology's few very great synthesizers, fell to his death while studying rock formations in the mountains of New South Wales on October 19, 1957. Childe had retired in advance of his time as Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London, in order to simplify the task for his successor, who must move the Instititute to new quarters. At the time of his death, he was engaged in a sentimental journey to Australia, where he had been born.

Childe left Australia for Oxford in 1914 with a graduate scholarship in Classics. He returned with a B. Litt., a first class honors in the "greats" (the humanities), and a fascination with Hegelian and Marxist philosophy. After several years as private secretary to the premier of New South Wales, he began (in 1922) a period of travel and study in Central and Eastern Europe. The

* A bibliography of Childe's works, into 1956, appears in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, XXI (1955), which volume is given over to essays in his honor.

first edition of his *Dawn of European Civilization* appeared in 1925; in 1927 he became professor of prehistoric archeology at Edinburgh. He held the directorship of the London institute from 1946–56.

Even to begin to understand the man, it seems necessary to stress Childe's early training in the humanities, as well as his early commitment to historical materialism. As a classicist, Childe's original approach to prehistory was by way of comparative philology. *The Aryans* (1926) still showed clear traces of this stage, but his attempt to establish a chronological framework for central Europe by comparative artifactual stratigraphy fascinated him far more than his "naturally fruitless" efforts in philology. Childe loved tangible evidence for interpretative purposes and the artifacts yielded this, although most clearly and comprehensively—for the time ranges and areas of his greatest concern—in the more material realms of culture. This led him to increasingly materialistic interpretations, but as Sir Mortimer Wheeler remarks, his Marxism colored rather than shaped his interpretations. Clearly, however, his two best-read books, *Man Makes Himself* and *What Happened in History*, have had far greater vogue in the academic context of the social sciences than in the humanities.

Although Childe loved the artifacts he could understand, he never forgot the "Indian behind the artifact" and scolded his colleagues roundly if they did: e.g., "Menghin insists so strongly on an axe as an expression of a historical tradition that the reader may forget that it is an implement for felling trees." He had a fine sense of the necessary interrelatedness of different kinds of artifacts in a given assemblage and of the interpretative implications of these interrelationships for understanding cultures which once lived. He stimulated many younger prehistorians to think in like terms. He was not known as a specialist in any one category of artifact; his *Bronze Age* (1930) was to him a vehicle which allowed the delineation of the course of his "second revolution" in Europe. The anonymous author of Childe's obituary in the London *Times* gives Childe's own view of his contribution to knowledge as lying in " 'interpretative concepts and methods of explanation' rather than in the assembly of fresh evidence." He is said to have been an indifferent excavator, per se.

Childe's natural gift for seeing the woods as well as the trees, his incredible grasp of detail, his wide acquaintance with colleagues in all corners of Europe, and his industriousness in pursuing their works in odd journals, was coupled with his great good fortune in appearing at a time when synthesis was badly needed and to a fair degree possible. *Ex oriente lux* had been popular theory with at least some prehistorians even before Montelius' *Der Orient und Europa* (1899), but Childe made his first excursion into the Near Eastern literature in preparation for the writing of *The Most Ancient East* (1928). Here, the delineation of his first or "food-producing revolution," toward which he had been stimulated by Elliot Smith's and Peake's speculations, began to take on its familiar dimensions. His *Bronze Age* also benefited greatly from this first Near Eastern excursion, and it is here that the "second revolution" comes into relief. His growing maturity as a synthesizer appears succinctly in his presidential

address to the Prehistoric Society in 1935, which foreshadows his interest in *Man Makes Himself* (1936). But neither Haddon (*History of Anthropology*, 1934) nor Lowie (*History of Ethnological Theory*, 1937) appeared to be conscious of him.

Other people, including Toynbee, did notice his work. In *The Most Ancient East*, Childe had followed Brooke's speculations on the northward retreat of the Atlantic storm track and the supposedly enforced propinquity of men, plants, and animals as a determinative force in the appearance of food-production. Toynbee made this speculation the "challenge" for his "Egyptaic" civilization. Childe's impact on American anthropological thought became increasingly apparent after his participation in the international congress on early man in Philadelphia in 1937 and his lectureship at Berkeley following it. In making the 1933 supplement to his classic *Anthropology*, Kroeber had been conscious of Childe only as the co-author (with Burkitt) of a chronological table; in the 1948 edition of *Anthropology*, Kroeber explicitly mentions Childe's influence and cites him often.

Childe did not mind that his materialism made him a convenient whipping-boy for pedagogical purposes. He never married, could indulge his whims, and did so. I remember the impact his black broad-brimmed Australian hat and flowing cape made on the driver of a Chicago bus late one evening in 1939 when he was being returned to his downtown hotel. He must have had to look hard to find a quotation from Stalin which could be dragged into the conclusions of his Huxley lecture with any pertinence at all, but he did barely manage it. The last time I saw him, in 1955, we dined very well at his club, but he told me impishly that he had purchased the trousers he was wearing in Belgrade in 1930 and weren't they still fine—in fact, they were frightful, and he knew it. No warmer or more generous or more humanitarian revolutionary ever lived, and he extended his warmth to any serious student regardless of age. Wheeler reminds us that "in these days of specialization it is not easy to find a leading prehistorian who, after a satisfactory dinner enlivened by a favorite hock, can take down a Pindar from his shelves and declaim an ode in its proper tongue."

Gordon Childe's writings give us an overview of the culture history of the Western cultural tradition from a rational-utilitarian point of view. He was as sensitive to factors of diffusion as to those of cultural evolution. His writings are full of clear and concise perceptions and they have had a natural appeal to an anthropology which was, very rightly, beginning to concern itself with generalities about extinct cultures as well as with living ones. Although he never completely divorced himself from the words, he (more than any other scholar) rescued Lubbock's neo-Grecisms "paleolithic" and "neolithic" from the evolutionary strait-jacket into which de Mortillet's "loi du progrès. . ." and "loi du développement similaire" had cast them. There is no better definition of "neolithic-ness" than his " 'a self-sufficing food-producing economy' " (*Anthropology Today*, 1953). On a higher level, his short paper on "The Urban Revolution" in the *Town Planning Review* (1950) is a gem and shows his consciousness of the comparative value of the civilizational bursts in the

New World. In later years, he became concerned that people in the United States took him to be a specialist in the Near East, which he roundly asserted he was not, although he did make several tours of the area, knew its literature well, and spent a few postwar weeks of digging with Garstang at Mersin.

But any overviewer, like Childe, especially a rational-utilitarian oriented one, is bound to oversimplify if the subject matter be man. Thus Thorkild Jacobsen (1945) could justifiably complain that "Childe speaks as if the invention and introduction of writing were a measure proposed by a pan-Mesopotamian congress of priests and adopted—as scholars may adopt a uniform terminology or other set of symbols at a scientific congress—in consideration of its present and future utility . . . but great intellectual achievements do not happen in that manner." Still, Jacobsen would be the first to admit that no professional Near Eastern culture-historian had bothered to or been able to produce a "What Happened in History" for the Near East which can touch Childe's in general provocative usefulness. Nor, curiously, has a generalizing Americanist counterpart for Childe yet appeared, although one or two may be on the horizon. For archeology, as Wheeler writes, Childe "made the study of man as nearly a science as perhaps that wayward subject admits." It is doubtful whether a man of less than Childe's stature as a humanist could have achieved the same result. We shall miss Gordon Childe's rare combination very much.

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FREDERIC HUNTINGTON DOUGLAS

1897–1956

FREDERIC HUNTINGTON DOUGLAS was born in Evergreen, Colorado on October 29, 1897. He was educated in public and private schools in the United States and Europe, and received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Colorado in 1921. For the next five years he did graduate work in Fine Arts at the University of Michigan and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, with the intention of becoming a painter. He was an accomplished musician.

In 1926 he married Freda Bendix Gillespie. Mr. and Mrs. Douglas settled in Denver, where his association with the Denver Art Museum commenced with an appointment in 1930 as Curator of Indian Art. Douglas served as Director of the Museum from 1940 to 1942, and later as a Trustee. From 1947 until his death on April 23, 1956, he was Curator of Native Arts.

In his 26 years in the museum world, Douglas built an outstanding collection of American Indian art at Denver, and was repeatedly called upon to lend his extraordinary talent in exhibition techniques to other museums throughout the country. After a tour of duty (1942–1945) in the Pacific Islands with the Army Medical Corps, he expanded his interests to include the collecting of Oceanic arts. Together with native art collections, Douglas gathered a reference library in anthropology unsurpassed in the Rocky Mountain Region. He gave his collections to the Denver Art Museum; the library, presently housed at the Chappell House branch of the Museum, was left to the Denver Public Library.

In June 1948, Douglas was awarded an honorary Doctor of Science degree by the University of Colorado, and in 1956 that University gave him its Recognition Medal. The accompanying citation stated what was perhaps his greatest contribution: having brought to thousands of laymen an awareness of "the true aesthetic merit of the cultures of peoples too often measured by our own standards and relegated to positions popularly considered as 'inferior' and 'primitive' . . . [and] having made countless people conscious of the equality of men throughout the world, regardless of the superficial barriers of time and geographic distances. . . ."

All who had the good fortune to know Eric Douglas appreciate fully his contributions to the field of ethnology, but cherish the memory of association with him for other, less tangible, reasons. He had unbounded imagination, curiosity, humor, and enthusiasm, which made every project he undertook a new and exciting experience, both for himself and those working with him. He gave unselfishly of his time and means; his collections and library were always at the disposal of interested students, to whom he unfailingly supplied stimulating ideas and encouragement. For his associates the daily scene is considerably less lively without the freshening presence of his original mind and vivid personality.

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Brief Communications

Siouan Languages in the East[1]

In a recent paper Carl F. Miller (1957) has "revaluated" the "Eastern Siouan problem" and concluded that there is no basis for assigning to the Siouan linguistic family any of the groups treated by Mooney in his *Siouan Tribes of the East* (1894). Miller pays particular attention to the Tutelo, Saponi, and Occaneechi, places less emphasis on other groups of Virginia and the Carolinas (including the Catawba), and mentions the Ofo and Biloxi only in a footnote. However, he implies (p. 188) that he believes there were no Siouan groups "east of the Mississippi" (the Winnebago and the most eastern Dakota bands are not mentioned—probably Miller overlooked their location east of the Mississippi).

Miller's reasoning is not always easy to follow. He began his investigation because he felt that pottery he excavated in southern Virginia was unlike "that usually attributed to Siouan-speaking peoples" (p. 119)—although "we all recognize [that] language does not predict archeological remains but may in fact differ so radically that there may appear, on the surface, to be no similarity or connection" (p. 195). However, the paper does not involve ceramic typology and distributions, but rather an examination of the data from historical sources and the uses made of them by later writers. Miller's treatment of these sources is open to question at numerous points. But it is the linguistic evidence which is crucial to his thesis, and this he does not examine. It is the purpose of this communication to review that evidence.

The groups involved for which we have actual linguistic material are the Tutelo, Catawba, Woccon, Ofo, and Biloxi. All are now extinct languages (the last speaker of any is a Catawba man born in 1873, who has not used the language for many years). Miller does not discuss any of the evidence on the last four languages mentioned above, merely remarking in his conclusions (p. 206) that "studies should be made on the Catawba, Biloxi, and Ofo to determine whether or not they should be assigned to the Siouan linguistic family." However, he concludes (p. 206) that Tutelo is "not of Siouan linguistic stock but rather of a primitive Algonquian stock. This has been demonstrated etymologically and dialectically by Dr. John P. Harrington [1955:189–202]." The latter paper deals entirely with Powhatan, long known to be an Algonquian language (although not, as Harrington would have it [p. 195], "merely a dialect of Delaware"; cf. Geary 1953, 1955, and Siebert 1941); nowhere in this paper does Harrington mention Tutelo or any of the other Virginia languages. Miller elsewhere suggests that Tutelo was an Iroquoian language (pp. 183, 184, 185, 204), since there is evidence that the Tutelo enjoyed friendly relations with the Tuscarora.

Miller cannot ignore the existence of Tutelo linguistic material collected among the Iroquois of the Six Nations Reserve on the Grand River in Ontario.

However, rather than consider the material itself or its use by comparative linguists, Miller attacks the credibility of the informants who provided the word lists published by Hale (1883), Sapir (1913), and Frachtenberg (1913). He appears to believe that only a "pure blood" Tutelo could provide usable linguistic material, and he misunderstands the linguistic and social situation of the Tutelo among the modern Iroquois. Hale interviewed several Tutelo in the 1870's, at least one of whom apparently was a native speaker of the language (who had, however, spoken only Cayuga for many years). Subsequent investigators found no native speakers of Tutelo, but only Iroquois-speakers who were members of the Tutelo tribe by descent or adoption, and who knew a few words and phrases of the language. However, some of this later material is usable, and it is ridiculous to say that because the informants of Frachtenberg in 1907 and Sapir in 1911 gave many equivalent forms, "there appears to have been some collusion attempted on the part of the Indians of the Grand River Reservation" (Miller 1957:195).

The Tutelo materials published by Hale (1883) are quite extensive: his vocabulary has 279 English entries, many with several Tutelo equivalents, and his discussion of the comparative grammar occupies 18 pages. His informants were an old man named Nikonha or Waskiteng (the only one considered by Miller), an unnamed man who occupied the Tutelo chieftainship on the Six Nations Council, and the latter's aunt, Mrs. Christine Buck (Hale 1883:9–11; 1877; 1879). Sapir's word list of 55 items (1913) was obtained in 1911 from Andrew Sprague. In 1907 Frachtenberg (1913) collected a word list of about the same length from Lucy Buck, through Cayuga for which he used Andrew Sprague as interpreter. In 1882 and 1888 J. Owen Dorsey and J. N. B. Hewitt collected more extensive materials than Sapir's or Frachtenberg's but these remain unpublished (Bureau of American Ethnology Mss. 1412, 2511) except for some kinship terms and numerals given by Dorsey in his preface to Riggs' *Dakota grammar* (1893).

Hale's demonstration (1883) of the Siouan affiliation of the Tutelo language, through comparison with Dakota and Hidatsa, is still convincing. There is no point in repeating here the names of authorities who have accepted Hale's results or refined them. It is sufficient to point out that the latest and most thorough investigation of the subgrouping of the Siouan family, that of Wolff, places Tutelo, Biloxi, and Ofo in one group. Wolff summarizes his results as follows: "The Ohio Valley group of Siouan languages consists of three languages, Biloxi, Ofo, and Tutelo, all of them now extinct. The geographic distribution of these languages is worth noting. While Ofo on the lower Mississippi and Biloxi around Mobile Bay are virtually neighbors, Tutelo and its dialects were spoken in Viginia. Yet, from the viewpoint of comparative phonology Tutelo and Biloxi are much more closely related, while Ofo shows a considerable number of phonological innovations. In spite of their geographic distribution, however, these three languages clearly represent a distinct group within the Siouan linguistic family, having mostly archaic features as far as their phonology is concerned" (Wolff 1950:64–65; as Wolff points out, Griffin has

objected to the label "Ohio Valley Siouan" introduced by Voegelin, but this of course does not reflect on the validity of the linguistic grouping). None of Miller's arguments bear on this conclusion or affect the evidence for it which Wolff presents (Miller does not cite Wolff, nor does he cite Voegelin's 1941 paper which established the Biloxi-Ofo-Tutelo group). Certainly no informant or combination of informants, Iroquois or other, could have invented in the 1870's (before Biloxi or Ofo were recognized as Siouan) a language with a Siouan grammar and with a phonology consistently related to Proto-Siouan as reconstructed by Wolff in the 1940's.

The linguistic position of Catawba (of South Carolina) is at present less certain. Siebert (1945:100–101) has summarized the history of work on this question. The first to suggest a Siouan affiliation was Lewis Henry Morgan, in 1869; others followed him or independently arrived at the same conclusion. As Siebert points out (1945:101), the evidence on which Catawba was classified as Siouan in Powell's *Indian Linguistic Families* (1891:111–116) has never been published. However, a manuscript dated 1890 in the B.A.E. archives (Ms. 3989) appears to be this evidence; in this, J. Owen Dorsey has compared 116 Catawba forms with forms of similar meaning from fifteen Siouan languages, marking 56 as cognate, 52 noncognate, and 18 doubtful. Of those marked cognate, Dorsey selected 23 as particularly close in form and meaning. He made no attempt to establish sound correspondences or to place Catawba in a particular subgroup of Siouan. Swanton in 1923 published a short comparative vocabulary which indicates the divergence of Catawba from other branches of the Siouan family. As Wolff (1950:66) correctly states, "the Siouan affinities of Catawba morphology were conclusively demonstrated by F. T. Siebert, Jr." in 1945. Siebert did not attempt to place Catawba in one of the Siouan subgroups, and Wolff had so much difficulty in finding obvious Siouan cognates in the Catawba material he used that he was unable to establish sound correspondences and concluded that "Catawba may form a group of Siouan, strongly divergent from all other groups and from the parent language . . . [or else it] may be the remnant of a larger pre-Siouan linguistic stock" (Wolff 1950:66). There is sufficient Catawba material available—much of the best of it still unpublished—so that eventually it will be possible to be more precise as to the specific relationship of Catawba and the Siouan languages. Siebert has shown that there is a relationship and a rather close one, in comparison with the broader North American linguistic groupings. The sound correspondences remain to be worked out. It makes little difference whether the inclusive group is called "Siouan-Catawba" or merely "Siouan"; the decision will depend on whether Wolff's reconstructed Proto-Siouan will account for Catawba, or whether a preceding stage will have to be reconstructed from the comparison of Catawba and Wolff's Proto-Siouan.

Woccon is an extinct language of North Carolina, known only through a vocabulary of about 140 items first published in 1709 (reprinted in Lawson 1952:240–251). Siebert (1945:100) has noted that Adelung and Vater in 1816

and Gallatin in 1836 compared this vocabulary with Catawba and concluded that the languages were related. The former cited three pairs of probable cognates out of eight pairs compared (Adelung and Vater 1816:308); Gallatin (1836:87) remarked that "out of fifty-one words found in both [languages], sixteen appear to have more or less remote affinities," and listed fourteen pairs as "the most remarkable"—most of them appear to be cognate. Albert S. Gatschet, in an unpublished manuscript in the B.A.E. archives (Ms. 1449) gives a Woccon-Catawba comparative vocabulary which contains 86 Catawba equivalents taken from his own field notebook. He did not draw any conclusions in this manuscript, nor indicate which pairs he accepted as cognate. My own estimate is that about 19 are probable cognates and about 11 possible cognates. This comparison is probably the basis for Gatschet's implication (1884:15) that Woccon and Catawba belonged to the same linguistic group, and for Powell's (1891:112) assertion that "it is only recently that a definite decision has been reached respecting the relationship of the Catawba and the Woccon," although Powell also cites Gallatin's conclusion (Powell 1891:111). Mooney (1894:65) merely states flatly that Lawson's vocabulary "shows that their [the Woccon's] dialect was closely related to that of the Catawba." It is true that it is evident from mere inspection of comparative vocabularies that Woccon and Catawba are related. However, it is also evident that they are far from being dialects of the same language. Swanton (1923) reports that he compared some of the Woccon material with Tutelo, Biloxi, Ofo, Hidatsa, Dakota, and Catawba, and found about twice as many resemblances with Catawba as with each of the other languages. However, he did not publish his data. Lawson's word list is extensive enough to serve as the basis for a more precise classification of Woccon, now that more satisfactory Catawba data are available and we know something of Proto-Siouan.

Nonlinguistic considerations are irrelevant for the determination of linguistic relationships. But where we lack linguistic evidence—as we do for most of the groups Miller considers—we must use whatever data exist. Cultural resemblances, geographical proximity, political association, brief lists of proper names without meanings, and contemporary summary statements on linguistic resemblances, do not prove linguistic relationships between groups; however, such nonlinguistic factors do indicate possibilities or even probabilities of linguistic relationship. In using such materials it is important to know what language families are certainly represented in the region, since the probability is that an unknown language belonged to one of these families, rather than to one not represented in the vicinity. There is no doubt that Siouan languages were present in the Southeast. Siouan is among the possible affiliations of groups such as the Saponi and Occaneechi, and the historical data must be evaluated with this possibility in mind. This has been the approach used with varying success by Hale, Gatschet, Mooney, Dorsey, Swanton, Speck, Griffin, and others, and it must continue to be used. Sober "revaluation" of the historical documents and of the conclusions drawn from them is all to the good,

but contentiousness resulting in distortion of the evidence merely misleads those unacquainted with the sources.

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NOTE

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GARO AVUNCULAR AUTHORITY AND MATRILATERAL CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE[1]

In one of the most elegantly reasoned arguments ever to appear in anthropological literature, George C. Homans and David M. Schneider have suggested that if preferential unilateral cross-cousin marriage exists in a society, then it is to be expected that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughter) will occcur in those societies where authority is held by the father. Conversely, they expect that in societies where authority is located in the status of the mother's brother, cross-cousin marriage will be of the patrilateral variety (marriage to father's sister's daughter) (Homans and Schneider 1955). One of the societies which they consider is that of the Garo of Assam, India, the data for which were admittedly sketchy. Material which I have recently obtained on the Garo raises some general questions concerning this theory. It will be the purpose of this paper to discuss the Homans-Schneider theory with reference to more complete data from the Garo, and to suggest the implications which these data have for the theory.

Though it is possible to do no more than give a superficial account of their argument in a brief space, it follows roughly these lines: In the typical patrilineal and virilocal (patrilocal) society, where the men of a patrilineage live more or less close to one another, and where authority is clearly concentrated in the status of the father, the cross-cousin favored for marriage is expected to be the mother's brother's daughter. Radcliffe-Brown pointed out that such societies tend to allow Ego to have a peculiarly warm and permissive relationship with his mother's brother (Radcliffe-Brown 1952:15–31). This uncle might be happy to give his daughter to his cherished nephew, and their friendliness might ease the strains of the father-in-law relationship. For complementary reasons, the father's sister's daughter would be an undesirable spouse in these societies, since the father's sister tends to be a sort of "female father"—

a person in whom strong authority resides. She would neither be a comfortable person to approach about marriage to her daughter nor the easiest person to have as a mother-in-law.

In the typical matrilineal but avunculocal society, the picture is in some ways reversed. In such societies the father tends to have the more intimate relationship with his son, while authority is frequently held by older members of the matrilineage and most characteristically by the mother's brothers. It would be awkward to become the son-in-law of such an uncle, who might well become a domineering father-in-law. On the other hand, the father's sister in this case tends to have a permissive relationship with her brother's son, and might well be happy to have her daughter marry him. Her friendliness with the nephew might ease the difficulty of the mother-in-law relationship.

However, other matrilineal societies have their local group organized around a group of coresident matrilineally related women. These are the typical uxorilocal (matrilocal) societies. In these, the resident men—that is, the husbands and fathers of the women rather than their maternal uncles and brothers—tend to hold the jural authority. It is to be expected that matrilineal societies which concentrate authority in the father will have matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, which is otherwise expected in patrilineal societies.

Homans and Schneider suggest that locus of authority rather than line of descent is the important determinant of which type of cross-cousin marriage becomes preferred by any society. They believe that in the four societies of their sample including the Garo, which combine matrilineal descent with matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, the father holds the authority. Attractive though this argument is, it is my duty to report that the Garo actually have substantial avuncular authority. In spite of this, or as I will try to demonstrate because of it, the Garo have a high proportion of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

To explain the features of this society which are relevant to the Homans-Schneider theory, it is convenient to start with residence. The Garo live in villages of from about ten to fifty or sixty households. Each village is surrounded by land which the members of that village have the right to clear and cultivate periodically. In the simplest case, which is all that need concern us here, the members of a single matrilineage have the principal right to live in a village and exploit its land. When a man marries, inevitably to a woman of a different matrilineage, the couple may live either in the village of the girl or in that of the boy, though the girl's village is the most frequent choice. This results in the typical pattern in which one or the other member of every married couple in a village is a member of the main village matrilineage. In the village I knew best, which was apparently typical, about three-fourths of the married women belonged to the main village matrilineage, while their husbands belonged to lineages of other villages. The other quarter of married men belonged themselves to the local village lineage but had brought in their wives from other villages. Although Garo readily state their residence rule by saying that "a

man must go to live in his wife's village when he marries," the actual residence pattern does not result in villages composed exclusively of a group of matrilineally related women with their husbands and children; instead, villages have both men and women of a single lineage, together with their in-marrying spouses. Garo feel that it is necessary for some men of the local lineage to live there after marriage, because there are duties and responsibilities that can only be exercised by the men. They say explicitly that no woman would feel comfortable if there were not at least one fairly close male relative living near by. If she has trouble with her husband, she wants to be able to claim the protection that only her own male lineage mates can give her. At the same time, no husband would want to be in a position where there was no one to whom he could complain if his wife misbehaved. Lineage men should discipline and punish their younger lineage mates for misbehavior. All formal legal disputes are considered to involve the two sets of relatives of the principals of the dispute. For instance, if a man deserts his wife, all of his relatives, but primarily his matrilineage mates, will assemble and be counted as "on his side." They will have to contribute to help pay his fine, if the decision should go against him, but they will also inflict physical punishment on their relative and berate him for his bad behavior. Whenever there is a matter involving formal punishment, the men of one's own matrilineage, and most explicitly the mother's brothers, have clear jural authority. However, there are no titled statuses of special authority within the lineage. There is no lineage head, and no problem of the succession of title. Older lineage members have authority over all younger ones, but generally the more closely related a man is, the more likely he will be actually to take authority, and men who live near their younger lineage mates will be more likely to supervise them than will those who live more distantly. There is a gradient of decreasing authority.

Fathers direct the activities of their small children. They may punish them by shouting and even by beating, and may burden them with moral lectures. But the older a child gets, and the more serious the nature of his misbehavior, the more clearly does he come under the jurisdiction of his older lineage mates. Even in economic and household affairs, whatever authority the father has declines as a boy reaches maturity. From about the time of puberty, boys are assigned plots which they cultivate with increasing independence as they grow older. Their fathers do not direct these activities. Youths acquire substantial economic independence by their efforts, and in fact they are generally free from the close supervision of anyone. If these youths overstep the limits of accepted behavior—if they steal, get in a serious fight, or get a girl pregnant—it is their older matrilineal kinsmen who take them in hand. Fathers chastise naughty children, but "uncles" deal with the more serious legal infractions.

Father and uncle, then, share in the discipline of children. But from the time of puberty the mother's brother's authority is clearly predominant—certainly for boys, somewhat less so for girls. At the age when marriage partners are selected, which is the time with which the Homans-Schneider theory

deals, the authority of the father is reduced and is certainly less than that of the matrilineage, both as stated in the explicit norms of the society and as I observed in practice.

The mother's brother's authority, and more generally the authority inherent within the lineage, is the only consistently reliable source of authority in this society. The traditional economic activities are carried out almost exclusively within the household, and few activities require the close cooperation of larger groups. Those which require cooperation, such as house building, are done according to traditional patterns of mutual assistance and traditional techniques, and it is possible for each person to work independently without direction from anyone else. Each man knows what he is supposed to do, so there is no need for any strong authority. The so-called "headman" of the village is in fact more of a ceremonial figurehead than a person of authority. He must perform certain sacrifices each year for the general good of the community and is recognized to have a formal position as head of the village, but he has little directive power and would quickly lose friends if he tried to order others around. Since the coming of British rule, a real center of power has developed in the position of the lowest judicial officer who judges petty disputes among the villagers, though even he is constrained to make his decisions within the confines of customary law and must rely on the authority of the offender's lineage raltives to carry out most of his decisions. A considerable but seldom explicitly recognized power is held by the rich men of the village. If wealthy men make a decision, others in the village generally decide to follow along. None of these nonkinship-based sources of authority can be relied upon consistently to apply effective sanctions.

The authority within the lineage, which is real though not manifest except on relatively infrequent occasions, is one of the few points in the society where moral pressure can be brought to bear with any degree of effectiveness. The Garo, then, do have authority located within the status of the mother's brother. What about their form of cross-cousin marriage?

If one simply asks a Garo about the rule of marriage, he will say without hesitation that they may marry either cross-cousin but neither parallel cousin. Empirically both types of cross-cousin marriage do occur, so as a first-level approximation they would have to be labeled as having bilateral cross-cousin marriage—which would of course exclude them from relevance to the Homans-Schneider theory. However, they have another and equally explicit requirement that every man try diligently to get one of his classificatory sister's sons—that is, a younger lineage mate—to come into his home, to marry one of his daughters, and to be his son-in-law and heir. If there is more than one daughter, the others may marry whomever they like, but one daughter must always marry her father's sister's son. This of course is matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, although the Garo seldom phrase it that way since they consider the uncle-nephew tie to be the crucial one in encouraging this marriage, rather than that directly between the potential spouses. Empirically, men regularly find

"nephews" to marry one of their daughters, and though relatively few of these "nephews" are sons of the man's real sister, classificatory nephews are almost as acceptable. This "nephew" and the daughter live with or at least close to the parents of the girl. They form a single economic unit and are expected to cultivate, buy, sell, and eat together. The households of other daughters are economically independent, and always have separate fields, separate budgets, and a separate house and hearth.

The young couple which lives with the girl's parents has the responsibility of caring for them when they become old and unable to work. This responsibility is deeply felt, and generally carefully executed. In return, this couple inherits all the physical property of the girl's parents and much of the social position as well. Since all houses share equally in the right to clear patches of jungle for cultivation, this does not exclude the families of other daughters from the means of subsistence, but it gives considerable movable property, as well as a substantial house, to the couple chosen to care for the parents. The care received by the older couple is the only reason ever given for choosing one daughter as heiress and a nephew as heir. If a man will not properly care for his parents-in-law in their old age, he would be a most undesirable person to have as a son-in-law.

This would appear to be the reason why the Garo feel that only a nephew is acceptable as an heir. Any other man, even if a son-in-law, would not be expected to be so responsible. The personal relationships in a family with two adult couples require a degree of cooperation and subordination of personal interests not found in a single nuclear family. If relationships are to be harmonious, the son-in-law must be willing to defer at least occasionally to his father-in-law, and he must respect the father-in-law sufficiently to carry out the sometimes onerous responsibilities of caring for him in his old age. If the son-in-law is otherwise unrelated to his father-in-law, it is unlikely that he would be willing to subordinate his own desires to those of the older man sufficiently for the maintenance of a harmonious household. If the authority inherent in the relationship between uncle and nephew applies also to father-in-law and son-in-law, the older man will be more willing to exercise the amount of authority necessary for the direction of such a household, and the younger man will be more willing to subordinate his own interests to the general good. It is a reasonable observation when the Garo say, "No other man would take care of me so well as my own nephew, so that is why I want him to be my son-in-law."

It would appear that with avuncular authority and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, the Garo constitute an exception to the Homans-Schneider theory. There is, it must be admitted, one loophole which literalists might use to exclude the Garo from consideration. They do not forbid or even disapprove of marriage to the father's sister's daughter. However, this would really be evading the issue. There is a clear statistical excess of marriage to the opposite cross-cousin, probably as marked as in any society, and there are formal rules

which encourage marriage to the mother's brother's daughter but no rules to encourage the opposite.[2]

The Garo must be admitted formally to be an exception to the Homans and Schneider theory, but actually their structure can, I believe, serve to clarify and ultimately to strengthen that theory rather than to weaken it. At this point, no anthropological theory is likely to be so reliable as to have no exceptions. The most that can reasonably be hoped for is fairly high correlations. However, the importance of the Garo data is that it is precisely the authority of the uncle over his nephew which encourages this type of marriage rather than discourages it, as is expected by the Homans-Schneider theory.

Unless one is immediately willing to abandon a most appealing theory, it is then necessary to discover what special features among the Garo could serve to differentiate them from the apparently more typical matrilineal, avuncupotestal societies which prohibit matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. All theoretical discussions from that of Levi-Strauss to that of Homans and Schneider have made the not always explicitly stated assumption that the boys and men of a society were "competing for the women" (in the terms of Levi-Strauss) or at least that the boy has considerable freedom in his choice of a wife. In the case of an avuncupotestal society, if the boy could choose for himself he would not be likely to reduplicate the authority of his mother's brother by making him his father-in-law as well.

Garo practices differ strikingly from those assumed in such works. Among the Garo, initiative in arranging marriages comes from the girl or her relatives, particularly her father, not from the boy. Girls who are chosen as heiresses have most arrangements made for them by their father and other relatives, though they do have veto power. To judge by the statements of Garo boys, it seems unlikely that they would on their own initiative undertake many marriages with their mother's brother's daughters. Most boys state clearly the disadvantages associated with caring for their wife's parents and of living with relatives who will have strict expectations and demand certain behavior. Of course, they recognize that there are compensating economic advantages and these, together with the heavy moral encouragement of the whole society and particularly of older matrilineage mates, are enough to persuade a number of boys eventually to undertake the duties and burdens of heirship—but never on their own initiative. Since they do not have the initiative in making the arrangements this is really beside the point, except to show that from the boy's point of view, which is the point from which Homans and Schneider primarily consider the constellations of relationships, their theoretical expectations are in fact quite reasonable. But a kinship system may look different from different positions within it, and the advantages and disadvantages of heirship surely look different from the position of mother's brother than from that of his sister's son. The authority that the nephew dislikes is precisely what makes the relationship attractive to his uncle. While the nephew may fear being under the jurisdiction of his uncle, the latter may be delighted to have a son-in-law

whom he can control by virtue of their lineage relationship.[3]

Undoubtedly the factors determining the choice of marriage partners are quite different in contractual marriages where most arrangements are made by members of the older generation, from those in marriages in which the young people take direct initiative. Interestingly, both kinds occur among the Garo. Girls who are not chosen as heiresses have relatively few restrictions on their choice of husband, so long as they observe the rules of exogamy. For these girls, and for the boys chosen by them, the question of whether they are cross-cousins is largely irrelevant. But heiresses have arrangements made for them, and the forces determining the choice of their spouses are to be found in the interests and desires of the older generation.

I am suggesting, then, that the locus of initiative in arranging marriages may be an important variable to add to those of residence, locus of jural authority, and type of cross-cousin marriage in attempting to ferret out the rules by which these phenomena are related to one another in the various societies of the world.

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NOTES

[1] This paper is based on fieldwork done in 1954–56 and supported by the Ford Foundation. I am indebted to David M. Schneider and to Ruben Reina for their critical reading of the first draft of this paper.

[2] The statistics which show the proportions of marriages to cross-cousins of various types are exceedingly cumbersome and cannot be presented simply. However, I have worked them out in detail in my Ph.D. dissertation, and there is an unambiguous statistical bias in favor of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (Burling 1957).

[3] The same point was made by Fortes in discussing the Ashanti, when he stated: "As has been mentioned, a cross-cousin is regarded as the most satisfactory spouse. At least this is still the view of the older people. Many young men take a different view. They say that a cross-cousin is 'too near,' almost a sister, and so she is never as attractive as an unrelated girl. Some argue, also, that cross-cousin marriage reinforces the authority of the mother's brother, who is now also father-in-law, to an intolerable degree. . . . The older people—parents, mothers' brothers, fathers' sisters—in whose interests and at whose insistence cross-cousin marriages are arranged defend the custom on various grounds" (Fortes 1950:281).

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German Kinship Terms

I have read Munro S. Edmonson's recent paper, "Kinship Terms and Kinship Concepts" (American Anthropologist 59:393ff) with great interest and admiration. I have no quarrel with his conclusions about the importance of diffusion and internal consistency in the process of change in kinship terms, conclusions of great importance to general culture theory. But I must express my dissatisfaction with the evidence he offers in support of his thesis about differential rates of change. Such differences may occur, but the evidence from varieties of German on which Edmonson relies heavily in support of his conclusion is less impressive than he indicates, and much less impressive if we go behind his data to examine his categories.

Edmonson says (p. 404): "Surprisingly, an incomplete list of Middle High German terms has no single term in common with modern German (index O?)." From these incomplete data, Edmonson tentatively concludes that in some languages, in a few centuries "a kinship terminology . . . may be changed enormously (German)" in contrast to other languages where "it may persist for as long as a millennium without suffering any significant change (Icelandic)."

Edmonson is talking here about term-types, and reaches his conclusion in part because of the effect of his rule of classifying as a single kinship term-type the root word in such variant pairs as English "father" and "grandfather," "uncle" and "granduncle"; German *Vater* and *Grossvater;* Middle High German *swester* and *swestersuon* (p. 400). When Edmonson says that Middle High German has no single term in common with modern German, he is not denying that many relatives are called by identical or practically identical terms in each, but only that he could find any term which was used for exactly the same set of relatives in each, whether alone or in combination. My present purpose is threefold: (1) to dispute the quoted tentative conclusion by supplying further data, (2) to dispute the usefulness of the categories used to derive the conclusion, and (3) to offer some general suggestions about the use of European linguistic data in ethnological theory.

I offer in Table 1 a list of various kinds of German kinship terms. The Middle High German column lists Middle High German terms as reported in Lexer (1872–1878), having been compiled by him from many documents written at various places over the course of several centuries. The Formal German column contains modern standard literary German terms (a) as listed in Kluge (1953) or Lepper and Kottenhahn (1939), or (b) even though not listed in the dictionaries, used by the lexicographers themselves to explain kinship usages of other words being discussed. For example, Lexer defines the MHG word *muome* as *Mutterschwester*, and also the MHG word *muotor-swëster;* Kluge defines some of the antecedent forms of the word *Neffe* as meaning *Schwestersohn, Brudersohn*. The Informal Standard German column lists from Naroll and Naroll (1956) terms in common use among the family for both

address and reference among middle and upper class people, who make a point of speaking "good" or school German (*Schuldeutsch*); these terms correspond to such English terms in our speech as "daddy," "mummy," "grampa," "gramma." The Oberinntal Dialect column lists from Naroll and Naroll (1956) the kin terms used by the peasants in the village where we worked in the Upper Inn region of western Tirol.

From these data it would appear that there have indeed been substantial changes in kinship usages in German over the last six hundred years, and also that there is wide variation today. Nevertheless, I find correspondences in term-type between Middle High German and Formal German in two terms: 1. *an—Ahn;* 2. *geswister—Geschwister.* I find four correspondences between Middle High German and the Oberinntal dialects: 1. *an—Nena;* 2. *ge-swister—Geschwester;* 3. *neve—Vetter;* 4. *niftel—Base.* Thus we have up to four terms which in some varieties of Middle High German correspond with other terms in some varieties of Modern German: (1) grandfather; (2) siblings; (3) male collateral relative other than sibling; (4) female ditto.

Thus, although there have unquestionably been major changes in German kinship terminology in the past six or seven centuries, these changes are not as great as Edmonson tentatively suggests. The degree of change varies, depending on which type of contemporary German is compared with which type of Middle High German. Unfortunately, while Edmonson takes pains to define a kinship term, a kinship element, and a kinship set, he never defines a language. But Middle High German usage varied considerably from time to time and place to place, as Modern German usage continues to do. It seems unlikely that all speakers of dialects classed as Middle High German throughout the Middle German period (roughly 1100–1500) used *neve* (*niftel*) to mean any collateral male (female) relative other than sibling regardless of generation or degree of collaterality, but it is clear that some did, just as the Oberinntal peasants (like speakers of many other neighboring dialects) use *Vetter* (*Base*) today. Dictionary German primarily reports the written usage; spoken usage, far more important in dealings among kinsmen, sometimes goes unreported. Spoken usage varies not only according to region and social class, but also according to the relationship of the interlocutors. With kinship terms as with other aspects of language (as my colleague Joseph B. Ford has pointed out), in order to classify European dialects it is necessary to consider not only who is talking but to whom he is talking and what he is talking about. Most speakers of German peasant dialects are bilingual these days, speaking also standard school German (*Schuldeutsch*); and they think of their own dialects simply as another variety of German. One intelligent Tirolean peasant informant, the manager of a small country store and the mother of several children, might well be classified—and would certainly classify herself—as a native speaker of "German," yet she does not know the relationship denoted by the term *Onkel*, a word she has never used. In considering the kinship terminology of modern German, it is necessary to specify not only the social

class and native place of the speaker, but also whether formal or informal speech is meant.

This discussion has so far been carried on entirely in terms of Edmonson's definition of a kinship term (pp. 394, 396); differences between Middle High German and modern usage would seem much less if, unlike Edmonson, we considered "grandfather" a kinship term distinct from both "grand" and "father." A steam-shovel can be classed with a hand shovel as two examples of the artifact type "shovel"—or not, depending on the classification scheme—but it seems to me that the decision should be made on functional rather than linguistic grounds. Consider the distinction between "father" and "grandfather." In all the German-speaking families I know about—whether peasant, bourgeoise, or noble, whether urban or rural—grandfathers have family roles markedly distinct from fathers. This distinction is emphasized by the fact that they are never addressed or referred to by the same kin term. *Grosvater* is never confused with *Vater*, any more than *Opapa* is with *Vati* or *Nena* with *Vaterle*, or "Dad" with "Grampa" or "shovel" with "steam-shovel." All varieties of Middle High German, like all varieties of modern German, carefully distinguish each of the following categories of relatives: (1) grandparents, (2) grandchildren, (3) parents, (4) children, and (5) siblings, and in addition distinguish within the last three categories by sex. There has been no change from MHG to Modern German in the concepts of father, mother, son, daughter, brother, or sister. It is only in the treatment of other collateral relatives that wide differences in classification and concept occur, from terms which distinguish among these others only by sex, to terms which distinguish precisely by bifurcation, generation, and/or degree of collaterality. Therefore I object to Edmonson's system, since it treats alike changes which are merely etymological and changes which are functional in distinguishing or failing to distinguish groups of relatives. Equally objectionable on these same grounds, though not applicable to the data here considered, is his rule of ignoring the distinction between male and female relatives where this is indicated by a difference of suffix, as in Spanish *tio—tia*, *hermano—hermana*, *hijo—hija*, while recognizing the distinction when it is indicated by a difference of root. I submit that the difference between the role of a son and daughter is as important to Spanish-speaking people as it is to English-speaking people, and would suppose that if Spanish grammar did not already provide a general rule for distinguishing most male things (including children) from most female things, Spanish-speaking people would provide special terms to distinguish a male child from a female. Where, in fact, one kinship terminology does not distinguish categories of relatives which another terminology does, this difference is obviously of first importance in the study of kinship concepts. But where one kinship terminology distinguishes them by a distinct root while another distinguishes them by some system of combination or inflexion, this difference I consider to be immaterial and irrelevant.

RAOUL NAROLL, *San Fernando Valley State College*

TABLE 1

Kinship Terms Classified by Edmonson's Kinship Sets for Four Varieties of German

Set	Middle High German	Formal German	Informal Standard German	Oberinntal Dialect
1. *Parent's Parent*				
Grandparent	ane	——	——	?
Grandparents		Grosseltern	Grosseltern?	?
Grandfather	ene; an	Grossvater; Ahn	Opapa; opa	Nena; opa
Grandmother	——	Grossmutter; Ahne	Omama; oma	Nala; oma
2. *Child's Child*				
Grandchild	enenkel; enelln; enel	Enkelkind; Enkel	——	Enkelkind
Grandson	——	——	——	——
Granddaughter	——	Enkelin	——	——
Daughter's son	tohter-sun	Tochtersohn		
3. *Parent's Parent's sibling*				
Greatuncle	neve	Grossonkel	Onkel?	Vetter
Greataunt	niftel; moume; niftele?	Grosstante	Tante?	Base
4. *Sibling's child's child*				
Grandnephew	neve	Grossneffe	——	Vetter; Vetterle
Grandniece	niftel; moume; niftele	Grossnichte	——	Base; Basele
5. *Parent*				
Parents	?	Eltern	Eltern?	Eltern?
Father	vater	Vater	Vati; Papa	Vater; Vaterle; Papa; Tata
Mother	muoter	Mutter	Mutti; Mama	Muoter; Mama
6. *Child*				
Child	kint	Kind	Kind	Kind
Son	sun; suon	Sohn	Bub	Büa
Daughter	tohter	Tochter	Mädel	Madele
7. *Parent's sibling*				
Uncle	neve	Onkel; Oheim	Onkel	Vetter
Mother's bro.	oeheim	Mutterbruder		
Father's bro.	vatere; vaterbruoder	Vaterbruder		
Aunt	niftel; muome; niftele?	Tante	Tante	Base
Mother's sis.	muoter-swëster; muome	Mutterschwester		
Father's sis.	base	Vaterschwester		
8. *Sibling's child*				
Nephew	neve	Neffe		Vetter, Vetterle

Set	Middle High German	Formal German	Informal Standard German	Oberinntal Dialect
Sister's son	swester-sun; oeheim	Schwestersohn		
Brother's son	veter; vetere	Brudersohn		
Niece	niftel; niftele; muome	Nichte		Base; Basele
Sister's daughter	swëstertohter	Schwestertochter		
9. *Parent's sibling's child*				
Male cousin (any degree)	neve	Cousin; Vetter		Vetter
Female cousin (any degree)	niftel; niftele	Cousine; Base		Base
Parent's sibling's child	ge-swisterde-kint	Geschwisterkind		Geschwisterkind
Father's sister's son		Vaters-schwester-sohn		
Fa's sister's dau.		Vaters-schwester-tochter		
Fa's brother's ch.	brueder-kint			
Mo's sister's ch.	swëster-kint			
Mo's sister's son	swëster-sun			
Mo's sister's dau.	swëster-tohter			
10. *Siblings*				
Siblings	geswister; gelihter	Geschwister		Geschwister
Brother	bruder	Bruder		Bruoder
Sister	swëster	Schwester		Schweschter

Notes: *Middle High German:* the usage of several terms varied from dialect to dialect and from time to time. For *oeheim*, Lexer gives Mutterbruder, Oheim, Schwestersohn, Neffe; for *neve:* Neffe, meistens der Schwestersohn, Brudersohn, im weiterem Sinne, Verwanter, Vetter, besonders in der Anrede; for *niftel*, *niftele*, Schwestertochter, Nichte, nahe Verwandte überhaupt (Mutterschwester, Geschwisterkinder); for *muome*, Mutterschwester, weibliche Verwandte, weibliches Geschwisterkind; for *vetere*, *veter*, Vatersbruder, Vetter, patruus, Brudersohn; and for *base*, Base, Schwester des Vaters, später Mutterschwester. *Oberinntal dialect: Büa* and *Madele*, the words for "boy" and "girl," are the preferred, usual forms for "son" and "daughter"; the terminal "le" is the ordinary diminutive used for younger relatives and as a special mark of affection for older relatives; for grandchild, a descriptive phrase is often used, e.g. "von Büa, dö Büa, "von mei Büa, dös Madele"; for grandparent's sibling's grandchild there is a special term: "*Geschwistertahne.*"

Acknowledgments: For information about the Oberinntal dialect, I am indebted to Oberlehrer a.d. Johann Plankensteiner and Professor Walter Plankensteiner; and for information about Middle High German, to Professor Alfred K. Dolch.

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NAROLL, RAOUL AND FRADA NAROLL
1956 Field notes

REJOINDER

I am gratified that my interpretation of European kinship terminologies should have generated an interest in correcting and expanding the data I have been able to assemble (Andromedas 1957). This was one of my aims in presenting it. I am particularly hopeful that better information on the historically recoverable kinship nomenclature of the world's literate cultures can be brought to bear on the problem of terminological change, and I welcome in this area the contributions of Naroll, Anderson (1957), Ghurye (1955), and others.

The criticisms I have received of my approach and definitions (Aberle 1957) seem on the other hand to demand some amplification on my part. A formal analysis of kinship terms is of course a different thing from a functional or behavioral analysis. I do not assert that it is a grander or nobler thing. I quite concede that for many purposes the denotative or even connotative dimensions of terminology may be more germane than its linguistic structure, and I agree that their analysis leads us to different, albeit not altogether unrelated, conclusions. Specifically, it seems to me sound to consider "grandfather" and "father" as distinct kinship terms when they have been recorded by a trained observer sensitized to the nature of the distinction. I submit, however, that only a small range of the world's cultures have been examined from this relatively exacting perspective, and that for most of the remaining cultures what we have is "linguistic" and not "functional" data. I am sure this is true, for example, of the study of Pre-columbian terminologies of many Latin American Indians, in which our source is likely to be a 16th or 17th-century missionary's dictionary rather than a 20th-century social anthropologist's field notes. If we use a formal analysis we can make good use of a broad range of naively recorded linguistic material. I believe the use of such material in "functional" and "behavioral" studies to be virtually impossible, since we have no way of equating the modern methodology with such impressions as might be gathered of the conceptual unity of compound terms in languages now dead. From this restricted point of view, then, and granting the narrowed purview of the resulting analysis and its partial incomparability to alternative methods with alternative aims, I consider formal analysis to be "better." It deals less broadly but more precisely with a wider range of terminological data.

MUNRO S. EDMONSON, *Tulane University*

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Letter to the Editor

Correction in the Review of Herrick

Sir:

In my review of Herrick's "The Evolution of Human Nature" (American Anthropologist 60:166–167) a serious error appears. I must take full responsibility for this, since I find that in typing the final draft from handwritten copy I miscopied one word and failed to catch it in proof reading. In the sentence "Herrick takes the evidence for subhuman precursors of symbolic activity not only as evidence that this faculty appeared in the natural course of organic evolution, but also as support for the position that nonhuman animals use symbols and that man is but *qualitatively* different in this respect" the word qualitatively is in error. It should read *quantitatively*. The whole sense of my implied criticism of Herrick's view is changed by this mistake.

I believe it is a point of some importance. The gradually increasing interest among anthropologists in studies of animal, specifically lower primate, behavior as a source of understanding of human behavior and its evolution warrants some reservations. I do not think it is useful to blur the sharp distinction that exists between the behavior of animals that are symbol-using and those that are not. Despite precursors of symbolic faculty in subhuman animals, man is still the only symbol-using animal. Indeed, one of the most striking evolutionary adaptations known in the plant and animal kingdoms is culture, which is possible only because of a fully developed symbolic faculty. I believe that Herrick is confusing this important point when he writes that he believes that man is only quantitatively different in his ability to use symbols. I submit that this is a qualitative difference, and the most distinct characteristic of the genus *Homo*.

John Buettner-Janusch, *University of Michigan*

Viking Awards

MARGARET MEAD, Raymond A. Dart, and James B. Griffin were presented with the 1957 Viking Fund Medals by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, respectively in general anthropology, physical anthropology and archeology.

Margaret Mead was born on December 16, 1901 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She attended Barnard College and came under the influence of Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict, obtained her M.A. from Columbia in 1924 and her Ph.D. in 1929.

Under the auspices of a National Research Council fellowship, Mead went to Samoa to study the development of an adolescent girl, concerning which she published *Coming of Age in Samoa, Social Organization of Manua* and several articles. On her return she became associated with the American Museum of Natural History, first as Assistant Curator of Ethnology and then in 1942 as Associate Curator, which position she continues to hold.

After Samoa, Mead studied the Manus and published *Growing Up in New Guinea* and *Kinship in the Admiralty Islands;* she studied the Arapesh, Mundugmor, and Tchambuli (1931–33) of New Guinea and published *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies; The Mountain Arapesh*, and many short items. She went to Bali (1936–8, 1939) and published *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis* in collaboration with Gregory Bateson.

During the war, Mead served as Executive Secretary to the Committee on Food Habits of the National Research Council in Washington, and has held lecturing positions at Vassar, Harvard, Columbia, Haverford, Yale, and the University of Cincinnati. She published a culture study of America, *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (1942).

Mead's most recent popular books are *Male and Female*, a study of the basic relations in contemporary culture set against the perspective gained by a study of seven small homogeneous societies; and *New Lives for Old*, a restudy of a primitive New Guinea community described 25 years earlier. Mead received the National Achievement Award in 1940, the Women Geographer's Medal in 1942, and in 1949 was named "Outstanding Woman of the Year in the Field of Science" by the Associated Press.

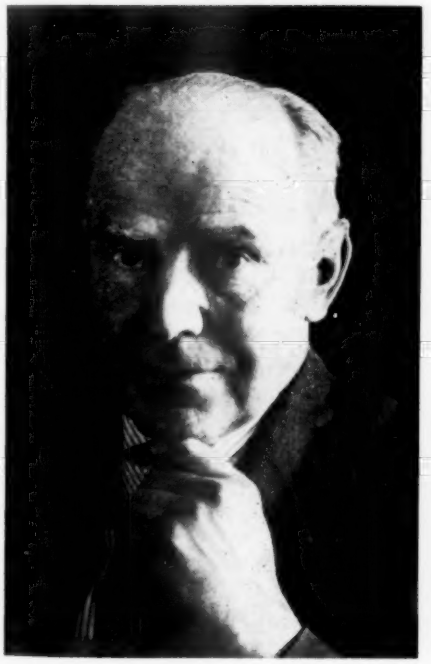
Raymond Arthur Dart, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine and Professor of Anatomy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, received the Viking Fund Medal in recognition of his notable contributions to physical anthropology.

Born on February 11, 1893, in Brisbane, Australia, Dart attended the University of Queensland and Sydney University. After a year of teaching at Saint Andrews College and an appointment to the Sydney Hospital, Dart entered the Australian Medical Corps and in 1920 pursued medical research in the United States on a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship.

Top: Margaret Mead, Associate Curator, American Museum of Natural History.

Bottom left: Raymond A. Dart, Dean of Faculty of Medicine and Professor of Anatomy, University of the Witwatersrand.

Bottom right: James B. Griffin, Director of the Museum of Anthropology and Professor of Anthropology, University of Michigan.



In 1923, Dart joined the Faculty of Medicine as Professor of Anatomy at the University of the Witwatersrand, and in 1925 became Dean of its Faculty of Medicine. In that same year, he announced the discovery of remains which he called *Australopithecus prometheus*, and reasoned that the human species may have originated in Africa. In 1955, he uncovered *Australopithecus* in the Makapansgat caves in the Transvaal buried with crudely fashioned stone tools, proof that this fossil was a true hominid.

Dart has been president of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, the Anthropological Section of the Pan-African Congress on Pre-History, and the South African Archeological Society. He has been a member of the International Commission on Fossil Man, the South African Institute for Medical Research, the South African Nursing Council, and the Medical Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

In selecting Dart, the first scientist from Africa to receive the Viking award, the American Association for Physical Anthropologists said: "He recognized the significance of the finds made at Taungs in 1925 and defended his interpretation of Australopithecus against widespread skepticism; he continued to search and discover hominid fossils; and, thus, he has led the way for the intensive research in physical anthropology in South Africa today."

Dr. James Bennett Griffin, Director of the Museum of Anthropology and Professor of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, was awarded the Medal by the Society for American Archaeology, which noted that "Dr. Griffin is one of the most productive and influential archaeologists working in the American field. The stimulus of his early work in the analysis and systemization of aboriginal ceramics in eastern North America has benefited all subsequent studies. More than any other archaeologist, he has traveled about the country examining collections not only in museums but also in the possession of private collectors, thereby obtaining an unsurpassed knowledge of the form, range, and distribution of artifact styles in North America."

Griffin was born in Atchison, Kansas on January 12, 1905. He took his Bachelor's and Master's degrees at the University of Chicago and his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan (1936). Since that time he has had an unbroken association with the University of Michigan.

Griffin was President of the Society for American Archaeology, United States Secretary for New World Archeology of the Permanent Council of the International Congress on Pre- and Proto-historical Sciences, and President of the Central States Branch of the American Anthropological Association. He is author of *The Fort Ancient Aspect*, co-author of *Archeological Survey in the Lower Mississippi Valley*, and editor of *Archeology of the Eastern United States*.

Book Reviews

GENERAL AND THEORETICAL

Afrique Ambiguë. GEORGES BALANDIER. (Collection Terre Humaine.) Paris: Librairie Plon, 1957. 221 pp., 52 figures, 32 illustrations, 3 maps. FF 1380.

Reviewed by JACQUES J. MAQUET, *Université officielle, Elisabethville*

It has been asserted that every fieldworker in anthropology should be psychoanalyzed in order to become fully conscious of all the hidden motivations which have led him to choose to live in exotic societies, and of all the covert biases which could distort his perception and his interpretation of the facts.

For the same purposes, a few French anthropologists have recently written books in which they tell the story of their travels and sojourns in the field, their personal reactions to the facts they must witness with impersonal objectivity, and the impact of the nonparticipant ethnographer's situation on the observed people and on the observer himself. Levi-Strauss, with his celebrated *Tristes Tropiques* published in the same collection, is the leading example of the "introspective anthropologists."

Balandier wrote *Afrique Ambiguë* when he was 36, ten years after the beginning of his first field trip in Africa. To publish memoirs that cover only a decade and at that age would appear somewhat rash for a scientist other than an ethnologist. For the latter, the justification lies in the fact that since his personal equation cannot be suppressed, the only way to deal with it is to expose it. Or, as Balandier puts it, the anthropologist must place his testimony in the proper perspective because it proceeds more from the complex and intricate relationships between the culture and its student than from foolproof research techniques. It is necessary for him to discover himself as well as to study his research data.

The author came to Africa out of an urge to escape from postwar France. He wanted to withdraw from Western culture and to go into retreat for some time, intending to set his ideas in order. He landed in Dakar not for Africa's sake but for his own. It did not take him long to realize how naive were these expectations—first, because the spiritual ways of the African peasant are difficult to assimilate into a Westerner's patterns of life; and second, because some significant cultural aspects for which he was searching as a personal answer to his problems were, from the viewpoint of the Africans themselves, becoming obsolete. He discovered then that the main teaching he could receive was from the effort of the Negro peoples to recover their dignity, to become less unequal partners, to achieve for their cultures some degree of universality. So the first ambiguity of Africa was in the ethnographer's mind: he wanted at the same time to go toward the origins of the traditional wisdom, and to take part emotionally in the movement of African societies toward some form of Westernization.

But Balandier was to find other ambiguities. The most striking one appears in the new cults arising in the African cities. The chapters dealing with these phenomena appear to me the most illuminating of the book, and they present a deep analysis of the situation. Balandier studied the situation in Brazzaville and in the neighboring bush villages which are in frequent communication with the city. Around 1950, several African churches were organized among the Kongo. Christianity spread in Central Africa the seeds of a revolutionary spirit which in certain places has already given birth to religious organizations subversive of the European authority. Of course this was not

intended by the missionaries. But, as the author explains it, Christianity has brought the story of a Messiah, the victim of a foreign government who was sentenced to death and who finally triumphs over the authorities and is glorified with his faithful followers. Social conditions in the African territories are not too different from what they were 2000 years ago, and the example has been set. The new churches arising around African prophets such as Matswa and Kibangu borrow from Christianity not only its messianic content but also its organization and some of its ritual. But they do not discard the old beliefs of the ancestor cult, and they require sacred commitments of the initiates. As in the case of many other acculturation processes, some European observers overlook the underlying realities to focus their attention on what they misinterpret as clumsy and somewhat ludicrous imitations of European ways of life. Far from being poor and awkward substitutes for either the great religions or the traditional systems, the African churches are, according to Balandier, a very powerful social force—explosive but well adapted to the new Central Africa in the making. Some leaders of these movements want the modernization of Africa, they want political independence and economic self-sufficiency, but they know or they feel that to get the support of the urban masses and of the people still living in the traditional framework of the villages, they must resort to other means than democratic political parties or groups led by educated Africans identified with the Europeans and isolated from the rich life of their ancient culture. They seem to have solved the everlasting problem of the divorce between the uprooted elite and the peasant majority.

Balandier makes a very penetrating remark when he points out that in our relations with Africa, we have neglected the almost sacred importance of the spoken word and the gesture in nonliterate cultures. In the new cults, the intellectual and lyrical impact of these expressions is restored in its full power. But if the blending of the old and the new appears so perfect that the seam is invisible, the unanimity reached by such means is threatening even for the goals that have been chosen by the leaders: national independence, organization of the new groups on some basis other than tribal boundaries, productive efficiency of the society. The Mau-Mau crisis has shown that such a mixture of past allegiances directed toward present aims of autonomy and economic security may have bloody results.

These penetrating views do not exhaust the part of Balandier's book devoted to topics other than himself. We accompany him during his stay among the Lebu fishermen near Dakar, and on his Sudanese trips from his Conakry base; he gives us an excellent description of the traditional techniques of gold digging in French Guinea; and a funeral among the Congo Pygmies provides him with the opportunity to explain how the Sundi maneuver to gain the control over the Pygmies which until now has belonged to the Teke. There is even a visit to Lambarene, but Dr. Schweitzer was not at home.

Afrique Ambiguë is a complex and varied book. Every social scientist who studies Africa will find in it many stimulating insights.

Some Uses of Anthropology: Theoretical and Applied. Anthropological Society of Washington. New York: Theo. Gaus' Sons, Inc., 1956. vi, 120 pp. $1.50.

Reviewed by WILLIAM CAUDILL, *Harvard University*

These eight papers, on a variety of theoretical and applied topics, were presented at meetings of the Anthropological Society of Washington during 1954–55. The common theme of the collection derives from the intention to examine "the relationship of anthropology to other fields . . . and its contribution to administrative problems and

programs." Although the papers are not formally grouped by subject matter, it seemed to the reviewer that they might be classified under the following headings: (1) Bennett's paper discusses the relation of anthropology to both theoretical and applied problems in research on cross-cultural education programs. (2) Relations between anthropology and medicine (broadly conceived) are treated with reference to psychiatry by Devereux, and with reference to public health by Paul, while Cobb outlines the history and present status of physical anthropology in the teaching of medicine. (3) Two papers are specifically concerned with the place of anthropology in administrative programs—Gladwin's on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and Kelly's on American Indian affairs. A third and more general paper by Hoebel on primitive law includes suggestions for the development of research in this area, and for the utilization of knowledge about primitive law in administrative programs. (4) The collection concludes with a summary paper by Mead in which she sketches the relationship between the preceding papers in the series and overall developments in the field of applied anthropology.

In a short review of a collection of papers, one must to some extent choose points for comment on a rather arbitrary basis, or else refrain from mentioning specific details. The following points were chosen partly to indicate the breadth of problems discussed in the papers.

The research described in Bennett's paper was started in order to provide background understanding for the planning and operation of programs of cultural relations and exchange of persons. Bennett first outlines some properties of the acculturation process in non-Western nations which have sent their students to Western countries. The case of Japan and the Japanese overseas student in the United States is then examined in detail. In concluding, Bennett says: "In sum, it is evident that the overseas students, whatever their historical period and whatever their status-personality type, have all contributed to the current of change and disequilibrium in the modernization of the non-Western nations. Direct and indirect consequences, conforming and deviant currents—all have played their role in producing the inevitable modifications in the old native societies, the change toward a cosmopolitan culture in the city and (very indirectly) the very slow drift toward farmerhood in the peasant countryside." As possible agents of change in their own countries, overseas students would indeed seem to be worthy of serious study. Bennett's paper caused the reviewer to wonder again about the reciprocal question of the effect of the overseas students on some parts of American culture. The question becomes more intriguing if the experience of American GIs in other countries were examined for its possible effect on American culture. A large proportion of our adult male citizens have now had a sort of cross-cultural experience through military service. It would be interesting to know if this experience has influenced their perceptions of their own and other cultures—and if not, why not.

Devereux's paper comes to grips with the question of what is "normal" and "abnormal" behavior within a cultural context, and succeeds in moving the question a good distance forward. The ideas are necessarily somewhat involved, and include the concepts of " . . . (1) the unconscious segment of the ethnic personality, and (2) the individual unconscious." Devereux's "ethnic unconscious" is not to be confused with Jung's "racial unconscious." As Devereux says, "The 'ethnic unconscious' is that portion of the total unconscious segment of the individual's psyche which most members of his given cultural community have in common. It is composed of material which each generation teaches the next one to repress, in accordance with the basic demand patterns of the prevailing culture . . . Hence, all members of a given culture will have certain unconscious conflicts in common. The material composing the unconscious seg-

ment of the ethnic character is maintained in a state of repression by means of various defense mechanisms, *usually supplemented by cultural pressures.*" These ideas and others are given good illustration in the paper, particularly through a consideration of the role of the shaman, and a partial summary of Devereux's argument is presented when he says: "The same defense mechanisms are present in the normal and in the abnormal personality, as well as in members of various cultures. The normal differs from the abnormal, and the Eskimo differs from the Bedouin, not in terms of the presence or absence of certain defense mechanism, but in terms of the *patterning* of all defenses, and in terms of the relative degree of importance which culture 'assigns' to the various defense mechanisms."

Gladwin gives a cogent account of the problems facing an anthropologist in working with administrators in the Trust Territory. He concludes: "It is my thesis, perhaps in self-justification, that, provided he has the opportunity to become adequately knowledgeable in the local culture and can develop adequate rapport, the anthropologist who wants to be useful in administration must himself become in some degree an administrator." This conclusion raises a point concerning the role of those anthropologists who increasingly are coming to work with members of professions which include practical action. To mention only the professions which are linked to the papers in this volume, these include education, psychiatry, public health, government, law, and medicine. The time may be passing when anthropologists will confine their activities strictly to research and teaching; some anthropologists may assume limited and well-defined responsibility for practical action as a part of their work with members of other professions. As Gladwin intimates, a certain amount of such involvement in practical matters may lead to a sharper focusing of research problems—both theoretical and applied—and to a closer working relation with colleagues.

Each of the other papers in this collection contains points that are as thought-provoking as those mentioned, but it is not possible to refer to all of them here. On the whole, this is a stimulating series of papers, and the reader, according to his interests, will find much of value.

ETHNOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

Indian Shakers: A Messianic Cult of the Pacific Northwest. H. G. Barnett. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1957. 378 pp., 8 illustrations. $5.75.

Reviewed by Fred W. Voget, *University of Arkansas*

Barnett concludes his five-year study of the Indian Shakers with the following: "But even more important at the present time, when shamans are few or nonexistent, is the fact that for many individuals the emotional experience of shaking is a healing instrument. It is a medicine, the fulfillment of a prophecy for the afflicted and the oppressed, an unmeasured gift to the faithful" (353).

This statement constitutes the theme which Barnett develops in his skillful description and analysis of the prophetic and messianic "cult" initiated by John Slocum in 1881. Focus upon a transcending religious experience has proved attractive to many Indians, since their lives have been threatened by disease, poverty, and the superiority of an intruder who not only conspired to rob them of the material means of security but also to divest them of the last shred of personal esteem by an organized moral mission. There was thus a very special appeal in an individualized action system which conjured for the individual a sense of personal power and worth in the sight of his fellow-men and in the eyes of a validating God.

This was Shakerism, and the personalized quality of the cult made for a looseness in organization and doctrine that has persisted from the beginning to the present. Thus Barnett finds that then as now the locus for much of Shaker practice and belief erupted from the personal experiences and interpretations of the leaders. His skillful dissection of Shaker intent discloses the artificial and ineffectual qualities of the formal organization that grew out of friendly efforts by whites such as Judge Wickersham.

Yet, in spite of the individuality, norms and acceptable doctrines do develop in the midst of individual-sanctioned behaviors as the Shakers stamp and cure. Slocum's personal animosity toward shamans, engendered by the feud between his family and that of his wife, apparently proves acceptable because the experience is common to others of his time. All can then accept Slocum's dictum: the shaman must go, and the faith-healing Shaker must take his place.

Concentration on the individual and his role is both a strength and a weakness in Barnett's study. Pursuit of the particular event which denotes the "origin" proves elusive, frustrating, and conducive to scientific humility in the face of essential unknowns. This of course constitutes a real service and a necessary reminder to those who would too readily abstract and systematize. But Barnett's interpretations tend to be limited in scope, tied as they are to the idiosyncratic and often capricious actions of the individual. He does not face squarely the other dimension of behavior-in-society, namely, its conventionalization. So we seldom hear why particular innovations prove acceptable and why others are rejected. This is as difficult and crucial a problem as origins, and one which should produce pattern out of particulars.

Although there may be some disappointment at Barnett's hesitation to deal with broader theoretical issues, no one can fail to accord *Indian Shakers* a first place among studies devoted to acculturational phenomena of this kind. The work is superb from the thorough description of Shaker doctrine and ritual to the minute dissection of traits and the proper allotment of their historic source, insofar as this is possible. Shaker religion emerges as clearly pegged both to Christian ritual form, basically Catholic with later Protestant accretions, and to the aboriginal view of disease and healing. One might say that Christianity provided the form-model, but the native culture provided the meaning-model, modified by needs that erupted from general personal and social disorganization.

Shakers do not appear to be interested in actively incorporating elements from either the American or the native ways of life, nor are they interested in perpetuating Indian ways, despite enunciation of their religion as for the Indian. On the whole, Barnett finds Shakerism to be built upon the mixed American-Indian culture content and sociopsychological climate of the day, and its relation to the latter provides a continuity in function which perpetuates it.

Despite form resemblances with the Prophet Dance, to which Spier called attention, Barnett finds little real evidence for probable diffusion from this source. Intriguing, to say the least, is the suggestion that the Annie Lee Shakers may have had an indirect influence upon the Indian marching formations, possibly conveyed by Wickersham. Perhaps the military, Catholic, and Protestant processionals and formations may be a more obvious source, as Smohalla employed bannered processionals. Frontier dances might also provide a nearer model for the Shaker clap and clasp and formation into lines.

Finally, it may be pointed out that Barnett raises by implication a problem in acculturation to which more serious attention should be given: To what extent do movements of this kind and other acculturational changes develop without a persistent

and pervasive influence from either the native or the intrusive culture patterns? To what extent are we dealing with "normless" people in search of norms?

Ethnographic Interpretations 1–6. A. L. KROEBER. (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 47, No. 2.) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957. Pp. 191–234, map, 5 tables. $1.00.

Reviewed by HAROLD DRIVER, *Indiana University*

This monograph consists of six separate but related papers, five on the Indians of California and neighboring states, and one on "What Ethnography Is," which serves as a preface to the others. These papers are a welcome addition to previous literature on the California area, and reflect the responsibility which Kroeber has always felt about making his field data available in published form and about bringing his previous writing up to date when new facts or ideas appear. The points of difference found by the reviewer are inconsequential compared to those on which he is in complete accord.

"*Ad hoc* Reassurance Dreams" (pp. 205–208) notes the occurrence of such dreams among the Walapai and discusses them more fully for the Yurok and Mohave, among whom Kroeber did field work as early as 1902.

"Coefficients of Cultural Similarity of Northern Paiute Bands" (pp. 209–214) are derived from the Culture Element Survey of the 1930's, which Kroeber directed. The clustering of coefficients reveals a two-fold classification into a northern and a southern group. Although the reviewer prefers the Phi coefficient, the nearly balanced ratio of presences and absences in these data make the choice of coefficient unimportant, as Schuessler and the reviewer recently pointed out in this journal (AA 59:656–57).

"Some New Group Boundaries in Central California" (pp. 215–217) is a reply to a 1954 paper by Madison S. Beeler on disputed place names. Kroeber agrees with Beeler that Sonoma, the name of a modern town, valley, and county in California, is derived from the Patwin word *sonom*, meaning "nose." The reviewer disagrees with both Kroeber and Beeler. He finds no less than 12 habitation sites in Wappo territory with names ending in *noma* from S. A. Barrett's map (UCPAAE 6:at end) and from his own monograph on the Wappo (same series, 36:183–184), and three of these end in *sonoma* or *tsonoma*. *Noma* means "place" or "home" in Wappo, *tso* means "world," *ts'o* "ground," *tsɔ* "to lie down," and *nome* "to rest or go to bed," according to Paul Radin (same series, 27: dictionary at end). Therefore, the Wappo origin of the name *Sonoma* seems more probable.

"California Indian Population about 1910" (pp. 218–225) uses heretofore unpublished data gathered by C. E. Kelsey in 1905–1906 to show that the population of that time was about 20,000 rather than the 15–16,000 previously estimated by Kroeber.

"Mohave Clairvoyance" (pp. 226–233) describes a Mohave shamanistic complex which is foreign to everything else in Mohave religion. Because the same complex is better integrated in Walapai, Maricopa, and Yavapai cultures, which were in contact with the Mohave, Kroeber concludes that the Mohave derived it from one or more of these peoples.

"What Ethnography Is" (pp. 191–204) is a provocative essay on the relations of ethnography to the other fields of anthropology, and to the social sciences, the natural sciences, and the humanities. This is easily the most important section of the monograph and all anthropologists should read it. Kroeber characterizes himself as "half humanist in spiritual ancestry and proclivities" (p. 202). In his appraisal of the achievements of ethnography, he seems over-modest. He makes no mention of the cross-

cultural method and its answer to the problem of the relation between kinship terminology and social organization, which the reviewer regards as one of the greatest accomplishments to date in ethnography.

The Ethnobotany of the Island Caribs of Dominica. W. H. HODGE and DOUGLAS TAYLOR (Reprinted from Webbia, Vol. 12, No. 2.) Firenze: Istituto Botanico dell'Università, 1957. Pp. 513–644, 40 figures, 2 maps, 15 plates. n.p.

Reviewed by WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT, *Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution*

This work, written in 1942 and revised several times since, is based on ethnobotanical fieldwork by both authors, botanical research by Hodge, and ethnographic, linguistic, and ethnohistorical research by Taylor. It contains 204 entries of species or genera of wild and cultivated plants. Each entry includes the scientific name and authority (and often some synonymy), Island-Carib and Dominica Creole names, West Indian English name, some data on the origin, range, and history of the plant, and a description of its present and past uses by the Island-Carib. Future workers will be grateful that specimens of most plants were collected for the Gray Herbarium (with some duplicates deposited elsewhere), and that specimen numbers are cited in the text. The indices and finding lists are excellent; those of vernacular names reflect Taylor's latest linguistic conclusions, except for the nonphonemic orthography of the Creole. As usual, the arrangement is botanical rather than cultural, there is no consideration of plant lore as a field of structured native knowledge, and plants recognized but lacking local uses are not included. However, this is by far the most thorough ethnobotanical treatise we have for the Caribbean, and it compares favorably with the best recent studies anywhere in the world.

The Ancient Civilizations of Peru. J. ALDEN MASON. Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1957. 329 pp., 6 figures, 2 maps, 64 plates, table. $1.25.

Reviewed by JOHN V. MURRA, *Vassar College*

Two elements of Andean accomplishment may be featured in a popularization of Ancient Peru: (1) the technological and craft marvels at all levels of the historical continuum as revealed by archeology, and (2) the social, political and economic organization of the Inca state. These are very different human accomplishments, requiring quite different analytic tools; they are not yet outside the ken of a single anthropologist, but the effort to encompass them both will strain most of us. J. Alden Mason has chosen to deal with both in this recent Pelican paperback.

His "History of Peruvian Culture" (Part II, 94 pages and many plates) is a condensed but interesting presentation of the archeological evidence. It is up-to-date, well illustrated, and has been creatively reworked by the author. He considers the various chronologies and makes a tentative choice among them; the several classificatory schemes are compared and a new one devised; the reader is cautioned against projecting what are essentially coastal sequences to the highlands. The discovery of Ancient Peru, so well begun in these pages, can be continued by the interested reader with the aid of an excellent bibliography.

Part III, which deals with Inca social organization, is much more traditional. The reasons for rapid Inca expansion, the ways in which the *ayllu* can be considered a clan, the bureaucratic blend of autocracy and decimal decentralization, the state insuring

the people or widows against hunger but regimenting them and leaving "no choice, independence or initiative," are features familiar to us all. The section on marriage hesitates between the traditional view that "marriage was practically required by Inca regulations" and the evidence which indicates bridewealth, services rendered by the groom to his in-laws, and "trial marriages" (pp. 150–1). Chances are the "formal engagement under state auspices" is more likely to be the first and formal census recognition of the newly enumerated unit of corvée, the household. The chapter on economics deals largely with technology, and both the peasant and the state economies are found under "Political Organization." In general, the reader will not get the same freshly thought out fare that he got in the archeological section.

The reviewer would like to suggest that the time has come to reconsider the commonplaces of Inca social organization in the light of what we have learned in recent decades about similarly complex social structures in the Pacific and particularly in Africa. The ayllu will not then appear so strange, even if endogamous. The emergence of royal and status lineages, the use of kinship ties for bureaucratic purposes, the wars of succession between equally eligible half-brothers, the "decimal" system as a census of households and not persons, the legal fiction which defines all lands as royal but which allows traditional lineage tenures and welfare systems to endure, all these have their parallels, both formally and analytically. Blended with the efforts in Inca research pioneered by Cunow and Trimborn and developed by Luis Valcarcel, such a cross-cultural approach is needed if our understanding of Inca social organization is to progress.

North and Northeast Africa: A Selected Annotated List of Writings, 1951–1957. HELEN F. CONOVER. Washington: Library of Congress, 1957. v, 182 pp. $1.35.

Reviewed by DAVID JOLLY, *Northwestern University*

This is the latest in a series of bibliographies on Africa begun by Miss Conover, a member of the Reference Department of the Library of Congress, in 1942 shortly after our entry into World War II. It contains 346 numbered entries selected from the mass of literature available, with preference given to those in the English language. In the annotations—which are full, well-written, and useful alike to the student, serious layman, and the expert—reference is made to more than 200 other works on the same or related themes. For certain parts of North Africa it was necessary to rely on French and Spanish works, but no attempt was made to deal with Arabic source materials. Ten of the 28 sections are introduced by notes bringing the reader up-to-date on current political, geographical, and historical developments in the areas under study. An excellent index completes the work. This bibliography would make a useful addition to any Reference Collection on Africa, and it could readily be employed as a supplementary text for courses dealing with the area. It is available from the Card Division of the Library of Congress. Orders addressed to the Chief, Card Division, should be accompanied by check or money order.

Egypt. GEORGE L. HARRIS. (Country Survey Series.) New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1957. xii, 370 pp., glossary, 19 tables, 3 plates. $8.00.

Reviewed by RAPHAEL PATAI, *Theodor Herzl Institute*

In 1956 the Human Relations Area Files produced about 60 Country Handbooks under contract with a government agency. Subsequently, several of these handbooks

were published by the HRAF in a limited paperback edition with the general title of "Country Survey Series." The editors of the individual volumes had to adhere closely to a prescribed format, the purpose of which was to insure overall uniformity of the volumes produced, but editors and research teams were nevertheless able to emphasize those aspects of the country described in which they took special interest. Thus, in some volumes the political forms and structures, in others the economic life, in still others the social structure, were given relatively greater prominence through more detailed treatment.

In the present volume, social organization is largely neglected; "Social Organization" comprises less than 11 pages and "The Family" less than 9 pages out of a total of 343 text pages. Basic demographic data are summarized in five pages and the ethnic groups inhabiting Egypt are described in eight pages. As against this summary treatment, 128 pages deal with the Egyptian economy and 15 pages with "Diffusion and Control of Information."

In spite of this apparent imbalance, the volume contains an impressive amount of information and can be read with profit by anyone wishing to obtain a bird's-eye view of modern Egypt.

Histoire sociale d'un village égyptien au XXème siècle. JACQUES BERQUE. (Le Monde d'Outre-mer Passé et Présent. Première Série: Études Vol. III.) The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1957. 87 pp., 5 plates, 4 maps, 3 figures. Gulden 6.50 ($1.70).

Reviewed by JOHN GULICK, *University of North Carolina*

This community study is a substantial addition to the anthropology of the Middle East. It is based on fieldwork done between 1953 and 1955 in Sirs al-Layyan, a Nile Delta village. Berque's analysis of field data and relevant Egyptian fiction is largely Durkheimian.

The presentation is not strictly chronological. The author is concerned with the present situation, but, faced with a changing culture, he documents the changes which have been occurring, mostly since 1900, in each topic in turn. Because of its brevity, this organization gives an admirable picture of culture-in-change.

However, brevity is the book's major fault. Though details are precise, there are not enough. Land tenure, occupational specialization, the immediate family, psychological effects of urban migration, and other subjects, are not covered sufficiently.

Sirs al-Layyan has 22,000 people, an exceedingly large population for a "village." However, the increase has recently been explosive, and the community is still dominated by the land-animal concerns of the kin- and cult-bound farmer. Nevertheless, group specializations and socioeconomic variations are present to a degree which might lead one to classify the community as a town, in contrast to smaller and more homogeneous villages. Perhaps, however, communities like Sirs al-Layyan *are* the basic settlements of peasants in very densely populated areas. This issue, which is not merely typological, has not been analyzed for the Middle East.

Chief consideration is given to kinship and religion in relation to community structure and ethos. Around 1900, each of the lineages (all large) occupied a part of one of the five quarters. A few notable lineages had a corporate structure apparently absent from the less notable ones. Religious brotherhoods, with their "dionysiac" frenzies, were important, and their masters generally belonged to notable lineages. The five quarters were grouped into two opposed divisions. Religious doctors, notable lineage chiefs, lineage champions, and *sherifs* were among the most honored persons.

The quarters still persist, but less rigidly. The corporate quality of some lineages has been undermined by the weakening of "patriarchal" controls. Brotherhoods have declined though saint cults have not, and there are some new associations. Dionysiac behavior has diminished, as have large collective assemblies. The dual division has become a vehicle for the expression of national political issues into which much of the intense emotionalism has been channeled. Holders of modern diplomas and professional people vie with the older top prestige statuses. Despite their divisions, the villagers have a strong sense of unity which the author, while unable to account for it, says correctly is an important "sociological" issue.

" . . . If the ritual life of the village remains, in general, unchanged, evolution has, nevertheless, variously affected each part of the system. This variability of effect tends to disrupt the old syntheses and displace the old balances" (p. 45). This is Berque's recurrent theme. Though in this general theme the book is like some other peasant village studies, it contains nuances of detail and insight which make it worthy of careful study.

Family and Kinship in East London. MICHAEL YOUNG and PETER WILLMOTT. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957. xix, 232 pp., appendices, 3 diagrams, 39 tables. $5.00.

Reviewed by ROBERT N. RAPOPORT, *Harvard University*

Social science in Britain has excelled in numerous directions—demography, social philosophy, the study of social structure in alien tribal settings—but aside from "applied" studies (which have sometimes been of exceedingly high calibre, as with the Tavistock Institute group) or social service studies (which, as Professor Titmuss notes in the introduction of this volume, have tended to be social-problem oriented and class-culture bound), an astonishingly small number of social science studies involving field-work have been done on British life. Perhaps the contribution of literary men and historians have been so overpoweringly good as to discourage competition; perhaps the national character of the British prompted less self-scrutiny than was the case in America.

This picture has changed in recent years, as for example with Gluckman's industrial studies, Freedman's and Little's ethnic studies, Firth's London kinship studies, and Bott's studies of "ordinary" London families. The stimuli for this new interest in contemporary society by high-calibre social science personnel have been numerous, not the least of which may be the non-British national origin of so many of them. In the study under review, at least one prominent influence was the presence at the London School of Economics of Professor Edward Shils, who stimulated Michael Young and other young British sociologists to do field work in Great Britain itself.

Michael Young is the director of the Institute of Community Studies in London, an organization formed in 1954 with the assistance of Professors Shils and Titmuss for the purpose of studying problems of social significance with the methods of social science. This is the first monograph in the Institute's series. Initially, Young and his colleagues were interested in the effects on family life of rehousing London working class families in suburban developments. The middle classes had led the exodus into the inner suburbs of the city, and more recently members of the working classes have jumped over the earlier settlers into an outer ring of estates built by municipal authorities. To exemplify the social termini of the movement in question, Young and his associates chose Bethnal Green (a working class borough of 54,000 in East London) and

Greenleigh (a new suburban housing estate to which many Bethnal Greeners had moved.)

In carrying out their exploratory studies, the Institute fieldworkers were profoundly impressed with the degree to which the Bethnal Green families differed from the researchers' preconceptions of them. Contrary to their expectations, they discovered that families are far from fragmented and isolated in nature. Most Bethnal Green families are found to be functioning actively within the framework of a widely ramifying and reticulate set of relationships. The concept of "network," recently demonstrated by Barnes and Bott to have utility in contemporary cultures, is used here in this connection.

Within the network, the link between mothers and daughters is found to be an exceptionally close one. Mothers and their married daughters live close by one another and constantly exchange visits, goods, and services of all kinds. Mothers help with tending to children and serve as "pivotal kin" in relaying information about other relatives and family affairs generally. The great triangle of childhood, note the authors, is mother-father-child; in Bethnal Green the great triangle of adulthood is "mum-wife-husband." "Courting the mother-in-law" as well as the bride becomes a prerequisite for most newly wed husbands in Bethnal Green if they are to develop a smoothly functioning family life.

The authors speculate that the source of this bond between mothers and daughters was in the early days of industrialization, when the women banded together to offset some of the difficulties and insecurities of a hazardous industrial situation. They "spoke for" their relatives with the landlord to get them neighboring accommodations, and over the decades there grew up in Bethnal Green a village within a city.

The housing estate of Greenleigh, while less than twenty miles from Bethnal Green, is worlds away in terms of English subcultures. The gemeinschaftlich flavor of Bethnal Green life disappears; the web of personal relationships is broken. Instead of being able to walk over to drop in on relatives and lifelong friends, settlers in Greenleigh must take a long and expensive subway ride. Instead of being surrounded by buildings each of which had historical meaning for them and in each of which reside friends or relatives, the new settlers are surrounded by immaculate rows of brand new standardized houses, each with tiny fence-enclosed garden, each housing strangers; all built, owned, and guarded by a single impersonal landlord, who makes assignments according to bureaucratic principles. Certain intangible yet powerful new characteristics pervade the style of life. In Greenleigh people tend to "keep to themselves." The new conditions of life, while materially rewarding, require the learning of different patterns of household routine, new ways of budgeting, and a struggle to keep up financially.

Young and Willmott conclude that the effects of a change of residence on social patterns are very great, but it would be a mistake to see these as exclusively due to physical factors. Mobility of this kind involves the disruption of a tightly knit network of relationships and entails social as well as geographical mobility. As material possessions become increasingly important to compensate for the disruption of personal ties, occupational achievement becomes an increasingly important goal, status rivalry rears its ugly head, and the mobile individuals become involved in a chain of unanticipated consequences to their move. The authors suggest that in moving people around, housing authorities should think of them in network or community terms rather than in terms of individuals with certain scores for housing needs.

This study can be seen from at least three points of view. From a descriptive point

of view, it is full of warmth and color—cockney expressions and verbatim quotations of a variety of kinds. And, though the authors report the life of Bethnal Green and Greenleigh in a lively ancedotal fashion, their work is based on careful methodological procedures, which are recorded in some detail in appendices. However, as sheer ethnography it is incomplete in scope, even given the delineation of topic suggested by the title. The emphasis on the mother-centered element in family life is achieved at the expense of a rounded picture of other areas of family and kinship relations. As a study of social structure it stays rather close to the data, contributing little new conceptually. As a work in applied social science its conclusion should be of value to housing administrators and others in practical fields.

Through highlighting contrasts within contemporary British society this work contributes stimulating perspectives; through giving careful attention to methodological problems it contributes to the possibility for further detailed comparative studies to explore the extent and significance of these patterns in contemporary British life.

Jordan, Lebanon and Syria: An Annotated Bibliography. RAPHAEL PATAI. (Behavior Science Bibliographies.) New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1957. vii, 289 pp. $6.50.

Reviewed by ELIZABETH E. BACON, *New York City*

This is one of a series of annotated bibliographies prepared for the Human Relations Area Files, several of which have been published for general distribution. The bibliography is intentionally selective, emphasizing works related to the social sciences at the expense of literature, the arts, history, and physical geography. Coverage of such natural sciences as zoology and botany is even more limited. This selectivity will in no way detract from the usefulness of the work for anthropologists, for the fields of education, public health, and agricultural reforms are well represented and the most important works in the neglected subjects are listed. The bibliography is divided into four parts: the first and longest section lists books and articles dealing with two or more countries and with works on the Middle East in general, when these are relevant. The other three parts list works concerned with Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria respectively. Material on the Arab population of Palestine before partition has been included under the heading of Jordan. The literature in all of the major European languages has been covered, as well as that in Arabic and Hebrew. A majority of the items are annotated; some appear without notes, presumably because the work was not available to the compilers. Within the four parts there are no subdivisions except for reference works—bibliographies, journals, maps, atlases, and so forth; apparently lack of space prevented a subject breakdown which would have entailed repetition of a number of titles under more than one subject heading. The straight alphabetical listing precludes use of the bibliography for ready reference—the general bibliography runs to 123 pages. However, the bibliography has been compiled with care and discrimination and well repays reading through, ticking off those items which lie within the special interests of the reader.

Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village. JOHN GULICK. (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 21.) New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., 1955. 191 pp., appendices, 13 figures, 9 plates. $3.50.

Reviewed by ELIZABETH E. BACON, *New York City*

The content of this work goes well beyond that suggested in the title, and for this we may be most grateful. The monograph is in essence an ethnographic study of a vil-

lage community in the Near East, and is one of the few such studies available for this area. In the past, tribal studies have been more popular and village studies have been limited largely to journal articles. The physical environment of the village, the arrangement of houses, and the subsistence patterns, are essential to an understanding of the social structure and of the changes that have occurred, and descriptions of the material culture and religious ritual give clues to the amount of culture change that has taken place. Similarities with Muslim village culture are noted. The result is a well-rounded picture of an Orthodox Christian village.

The monograph is divided into two parts: a description of the culture of the village, which occupies four-fifths of the volume; and a theoretical discussion of stability and change in the culture. In the first part, there is a thoughtful analysis of the findings at the end of each chapter. When the reviewer came to the end of this section, she had the feeling that all the bits and pieces of evidence had been laid out in preparation for a final analysis and interpretation of the data on stability and change. It was therefore somewhat disconcerting to discover that much of the second section was oriented around theories advanced by other writers about the Middle East in general. This was disturbing on two counts: First, the theories sometimes dealt with aspects, such as cliques, on which Gulick was able to obtain little information for his village. Second, one could not be sure that this Lebanese village was typical of the Middle East in general. Since the beginning of history, the Levant has been a trading center, subject to cultural influences from several directions. This particular village has apparently always been dependent on the outside world for some of its food, and in the days of paved roads and buses is within commuting distance of cosmopolitan Beirut. The village was founded only in the 17th century, and its inhabitants represent a religious minority within a minority so far as the Islamic Middle East is concerned.

However, Gulick's final conclusions are valid and of considerable interest. In spite of all the acculturative forces to which the village has been subject, both recently and in the more distant past, there is remarkable stability of in-group behavior and values within the village because kin group, local group, and religious sect are essentially coterminous. *Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village* is an important addition to our knowledge of the Near East. It is to be hoped that the author, who speaks Arabic and who has acquired an understanding of the larger social and economic context of Lebanese society through his experience as an instructor at the American University of Beirut, will continue his studies in this area.

Japanese and Chinese Language Sources on Burma: An Annotated Bibliography. FRANK N. TRAGER (Ed.) (Behavior Science Bibliographies.) New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1957. x, 122 pp. $3.50.

Reviewed by THEODORE STERN, *University of Oregon*

Opinion is currently divided as to the utility of the annotated bibliography, ranging from Father J. F. Ewing's dictum (AA 60:191) that it is "the most valuable single tool for . . . the student" to D. G. E. Hall's judgment (J. Asian Studies 17:164) that the bibliographer in question "would have been better employed upon a piece of serious research." However, its value for the individual scholar will depend upon the character and intrinsic worth of the items surveyed, the period spanned, the thoroughness of coverage, and the quality of annotation.

The Japanese-Chinese bibliography was developed as a supplement to Trager's *Annotated Bibliography of Burma* (HRAF Press, 1956), like it a product of the Burma Research Project at New York University. Unlike that compilation, which covers

European-language sources without time restriction, the Japanese and Chinese lists cover only the last two decades. Each list surveys important collections, without claim to having exhausted the field; the Japanese section ranges widely over books, articles, and government reports , while the Chinese consists principally of periodical articles. Each section must be augmented from other sources, even for the period of its coverage. For example, the Burma section of James K. Irikura's *Southeast Asia: Selected Annotated Bibliography of Japanese Publications* (HRAF Press, 1956) contains among its 31 entries for the 1936–1956 interval at least 20 which are lacking in the Trager list. On his part, the Chinese compiler freely admits his work to be complementary to Giok Po Oey's *Survey of Chinese Language Materials on Southeast Asia in the Hoover Institute and Library* (Date Paper No. 8, Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, 1953).

That a limited number of libraries has been sampled needs no defense, however it may reduce the usefulness of the work. To be sure, there is the further possibility that, like the European-language bibliography (p. iii of its introduction), the present compilation "represents the selective topical interests of the authors," here historian Hyman Kublin (Japan) and political scientist Lu-Yu Kiang (China). There is no direct evidence of such selective skewing, unless the time-limitation be counted as such; and the annotations adequately characterize the entries for the needs of the student. Indeed, Kublin appraises (p. x) the Japanese material as "less in the nature of scholarship in the finer sense of the word, and more in the nature of study and analysis of the purely contemporary," but his views may reflect a partiality for the historical. Anthropologists interested in the hill peoples of the Burma-Yunnan marchlands will find a number of scholarly articles in the China section.

It is a moot question whether the authors might have been better advised to turn the bibliography into a series of extended studies. What they have produced is both serviceable and welcome, despite its limitations. In content and scope, the materials they have surveyed will be chiefly useful for an assessment of Burma as seen by Asian observers, and will thus offset such systematic biases as may inhere in studies made either by Europeans or by participant Burmans.

The Melanesians: Studies in Their Anthropology and Folklore. R. H. CODRINGTON. (Behavior Science Reprints.) New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1957. xv, 419 pp., frontispiece, 33 illustrations. $3.95.

Reviewed by IAN HOGBIN, *University of Sydney.*

The original of this work appeared in 1891, and for many years only library copies have been available. Anthropologists everywhere will be grateful for the chance to acquire the reissue for their own shelves. Codrington's *Melanesians* is one of the dozen or so classics of our science. The literary style might still serve as a model, and the author treats his human material with a scientific detachment which at the time was almost unique. The book remains the only general account of the eastern Melanesians (the peoples of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago are not included) and presents the first full statement on *mana* beliefs, the basis of so much later theory.

Codrington was a missionary whose main task was supervising the instruction at Norfolk Island of pupils brought in by the mission from the Solomon, Banks, and New Hebrides groups. He visited different communities in the mission field, but most of his information was derived from the young men undergoing training. It so happened that the brightest of these came from the Banks Islands, and perhaps Codrington's only fault was that he tended to generalize over much from the Banks examples when

dealing with social organization. Thus the division into matrilineal moieties, which he suggests is the most common type of grouping, is by no means universal. In the Solomons, matrilineal moieties are confined to central and southern Guadalcanal. However, the sections on secret societies and religion carefully distinguish between the various islands. Where the old cults have survived the intervening three generations of European contact, they remain substantially as here described.

Now that Codrington has been reissued, perhaps the publishers may turn their attention to Mariner's *Natives of the Tonga Islands*. This is equally valuable, and the third and last edition appeared in 1819.

The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia. PETER WORSLEY. London: Macgibbon & Kee, 1957. 290 pp., illustrations. 25s.

Reviewed by ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE, *University of Pennsylvania*

The Trumpet Shall Sound is a comparative and historical study of Melanesian revitalization movements ranging from early cargo cults to modern political nationalisms. It is based on a reading of "everything published on these Melanesian cults, mainly in English, French, German and Dutch." The major part of the volume is devoted to a generation-by-generation, island-by-island summary of events occurring in dozens of movements. The second chapter and the Conclusions and Appendix contain interpretive generalizations and critiques of the theoretical literature. Without doubt this is the best comparative study to date of Melanesian cargo and other cult activities; it is also one of the most thoughtful contributions to the theory of revitalization movements. The descriptive material will be valuable for teaching purposes and also for independent analysis, and the theory expressed will stimulate thought and discussion.

The main theoretical gambit is a familiar one: to view enthusiastic religion as the forerunner of political action among a population characterized by either a general anomie or a struggle with an exploiting alien group, or by both. The data presented by Worsley seem well suited to demonstrate the utility of the concepts of anomie and class struggle as labels for etiological conditions for both the older type of religious cult (e.g., Vailala Madness) and the newer political action (e.g., the Paliau Movement). Anomie (the situation where the group holds goals which its culture does not enable individuals to reach) applies equally well to a situation of current inability to reach traditional goals and of current inability to reach new goals, because a condition of anomie can be reached from a situation of equilibrium either by a rise in level of aspiration or a fall in capabilities, or by both. Exploitation by, and resentment of, European traders, labor recruiters, police, military, missionaries, and government officials, is clearly enough demonstrated to convince even the most hardened relativist that no Melanesian society has ever been composed entirely of people who do not mind being trod upon, and that the nativism of many Melanesian movements has arisen from the simple fact that many Melanesians did not like the Europeans.

Implicit in the book is a typology, but it is never developed explicitly because whatever it is a typology of, is never defined by Worsley. Indeed, he asserts (not quite accurately) that he is restricting himself to only one type of movement because of the presumably dire consequences which would ensure if "a very large part of world history could be subsumed under the rubric of religious heresies, enthusiastic creeds and utopias." His failure to define a revitalization movement explicitly is responsible for a certain awkwardness in treating the relationship between religious and political action.

Most of the religious movements are labelled "millenarian;" they are further sub-

divided into "activist" and "passivist." Passivist millenarian movements are regarded as essentially "pie in the sky" movements, variable only in their estimate of the closeness of the sky, and are to be contrasted sharply with rational, secular, political movements which are activist, and (often) nationalistic and economic in emphasis. These two types are said "ultimately to include all" movements. In this schema a movement which is activist, rational, secular, and political, obviously cannot be passively millenarian. But it can be religious and even millenarian. This, however, Worsley does not emphasize; if it is not essentially a cult of passive resignation, it is analyzed as essentially a secular political organization. Paliau's movement (an eminently rational, secular, and political phenomenon, and also a religious one, as described by Mead, to whom Worsley defers as his main authority) therefore has to be shorn of any aura of religious enthusiasm. "It would be erroneous to overweight the mystical aspect of Paliau's doctrine. . . . Paliau's feet were well on the ground." And, in the discussion in Conclusions of the religious "form" of the many "activist" movements with a more or less millenarian ideology, religion is consistently construed as a consciously manipulated device of political leaders to solve structural problems. Thus the leader attributes his message to a supernatural authority in order to "avoid being seen as the representative of the interests of any one group" and thereby is able to unite jealous factions more easily. And again, the "reason that we find such heavy emphasis laid in all the cults upon a new morality" is that revolutionary energy can only be generated by flouting old values. "All prophets, therefore, stress moral renewal. . . . "

The analysis thus depends extensively on a (largely implicit) Marxian theory of revolution for its model. In the final treatment, movements divide into passivist, "pie-in-the-sky," "religion-as-the-opiate-of-the-people" religious withdrawals from the anomie produced by class exploitation, and activist, rational, "feet-on-the-ground," politico-economic campaigns within the class struggle. Religion inspires and resides in the leadership of the former; in the latter it is largely an instrument of the astute party leader, who finds it useful, in the initial phases of the campaign, for liberating the energies of the masses from the toils of factional dispute and traditional moral inhibitions.

The reviewer, and many readers, will take issue on the ground that the new morality, far from being merely an energy-liberating ritual of rebellion, is in itself a part of the new code or "goal-culture" (to use Theodore Schwartz's phrase), and that the essence of religion, as it functions in revitalization movements, does not lie in fantasies of celestial tarts, nor in its uses in political in-fighting, but in the revolutionary credo itself.

Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific. ANDREW SHARP. Baltimore: Penquin Books Inc., 1957. 240 pp., 12 plates, 3 maps. $.85.

Reviewed by KATHARINE LUOMALA, *University of Hawaii*

The thesis of this book is based on a statement by Captain Cook, who, in telling an accidental one-way voyage of Tahitians to Atiu Island, Cook archipelago, thought that an account of a single real-life episode would "serve to explain, better than a thousand conjectures of speculative reasoners, how the detached parts of the earth, and in particular, how the South Seas, may have been peopled; especially those that lie remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other."

Andrew Sharp argues that Polynesia, his main but not his only region of interest in the settlement of islands, was first discovered and occupied by sporadic accidental voyagers who were driven off course into the eastern Pacific by westerly storms.

Settling on the islands they had discovered by chance, their numbers slowly increased. Then occasional voyagers from these islands became lost at sea and some of them also were lucky enough to make accidental landfalls and find new homes. The primary accidental settlement of Polynesia was from west to east, but the subsequent accidental voyagers might have been carried in almost any direction depending upon winds, currents, and seasonal conditions. A chapter is devoted to the four west-east routes of primary migration proposed by earlier writers and to the east-west (America to Polynesia) route, but no one west-east route is favored over all others.

Sharp's hypothesis also includes the belief that within Polynesia, only two regions, one centering in Tonga and the other in the Society-northeastern Tuamotuan area, developed a pattern of deliberately undertaking voyages of as much as three hundred miles without intervening islands, with the intent, sometimes realized and sometimes not, of returning home, though it might occasionally have taken years. Elsewhere in Polynesia planned voyages were shorter, and long-distance voyaging resulted only from being blown away, not always while at sea but sometimes even from moorings at home. Tonga is regarded as the primary center of Polynesian dispersal, with the Society area as a later center for the eastern sector of the culture area. The homogeneity of the eastern Polynesian subculture is attributed to the later dispersal from the central area, and the homogeneity of the western subculture to subsequent developments in that region. Spotty distribution of specific culture traits within each subculture and limited to it are interpreted as the result of independent invention in each island concerned when no meteorological evidence favors accidental contact.

In an incidental way, Sharp extends his theory of accidental discovery and settlement to Iceland and Greenland, and rejects the theory of deliberate Viking voyaging with discovery of America and return home.

Sharp's theory, summarized above, is an attack on the hypothesis that Polynesia was colonized by deliberate voyaging which involved discovery with a subsequent return home, and then deliberate migration to make a settlement in the new land. Abraham Fornander and S. Percy Smith led scholars of the late 19th century who interpreted traditions, genealogies, languages, and other data to trace the original homeland of Polynesians to Arabia or India and to reconstruct their journeys through the western Pacific and their settlement in Polynesia. Twentieth-century scholars, among whom Sir Peter Buck was a leader, pared the theory greatly, revealing its excesses, and raised the standard of evidence. The focus has now been on the routes that Polynesians might have followed in coming from regions immediately north and west of their area to occupy the eastern Pacific, and, more importantly, on the growth of Polynesian cultures through diffusion and internal development. This later theory still maintains, but on a limited scale, the concept of purposive long voyages, some of them two-way, as important in the discovery, settlement, and development of Polynesian islands.

Sharp's evidence to support his hypothesis of predominantly accidental discovery and settlement without a round-trip is derived from meteorology and also from comparisons of Polynesian navigation with European navigation of the Pacific during the era of European discovery, particularly before longitude could be determined. Foreign ships had difficulty in keeping together, in finding islands once visited, and in keeping their course; large as they were, they were sometimes swept away by unknown set or variable winds. Of major importance as evidence are accounts and opinions of explorers like Cook and Quiros and of missionaries like John Williams, who, fascinated by the problem of Polynesian origins, told of the accidental voyages of Polynesians that they heard about. Material of the latter kind is limited by Sharp to the period from European

discovery to the mid-19th century when Polynesian culture had been much modified. Of modern research relating to Polynesian cultural homogeneity and subareas, Sharp draws most conspicuously on Elbert's article, "Internal Relationships of Polynesian Languages and Dialects."

Although Sharp seeks to debunk the exaggerated claims, mostly of 19th-century scholars, about Polynesian knowledge of navigation and massive planned migrations, he regards Polynesians and western Caroline islanders as sharing "the credit for man's greatest maritime achievement in oceanic areas before the days of instruments, if not indeed at any time. Every man who went out of sight of land in a small boat without instruments on an ocean without coast-lines on either side of him was a hero of the sea whose like may never be seen again" (pp. 197–198). And " . . . every course which, considering the geography and meteorology, was practicable, was in fact accomplished." Most telling are his objections to the terms "drift voyages" and "castaways." A Polynesian sometimes might not know where he was at sea but he had a certain amount of control over the situation through knowledge that his double canoe sailed best with the wind on the beam or the quarter, and rather than abandon himself to the wind and the set of the current he could sail across the wind. If by chance he came to an island, he might, as some are known to have done, have preferred to leave that security and take another chance on finding a better island or perhaps even home.

The importance of Sharp's hypothesis to research is clear from the growing number of references to it in current scientific articles about Polynesia. Besides providing a fresh and refreshing look at familiar material, the emphasis on the role of accidental voyages in the introduction of cultural traits and changes, as well as of occupation of islands, calls attention to a factor too often overlooked. The popular interest in the book is clear from its being reprinted by Penguin from a memoir of the Polynesian Society.

That the work is written nontechnically and in book form is to me a shortcoming from a scientific point of view. The hypothesis with the evidence advanced could have been presented in a scientific article a third the length of the book, and been more effective by eliminating the digression and repetitions. The repetitions without fresh evidence begin to sound like the assertion of someone trying to prove a favorite point of view and not testing an hypothesis scientifically. The habit of looking at the opposite side of other theories occasionally leads to speculation of little constructive worth, since the supporting evidence of these theories is not seriously examined. The terms "accidental voyages" and "accidental settlements" are used so broadly at times that the distinction between Sharp's theory and that of the 20th-century writers who have stressed purposive migration fades away.

The next step, it seems to me, is for Sharp or other scientists who have been collecting data on native knowledge of navigation and long accidental voyages to prepare a scientific monograph presenting the information systematically and without bias or wish to prove either accidental voyaging or deliberate migration.

Die Wiener Cook-Sammlung: Südsee-Teil. IRMGARD MOSCHNER. (Sonderdruck Aus, Archiv Für Volkerkunde, Band X, 1955.) Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, Universitäts-Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955. pp. 135–253, 120 figures, 4 plates. 20 Austrian schillings.

Reviewed by KATHARINE LUOMALA, *University of Hawaii*

This volume is a descriptive catalog of some of the 238 artifacts comprising the Vienna acquisition of part of the collection made by Captain James Cook on his

voyages to Oceania and Northwestern America. It is now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, but after it left England, where it had been purchased in 1806 through the initiative of Kaiser Franz I, it was shuttled about for more than 50 years until it was given a place with other ethnographical material in the Natural History Museum. There, description of the museum ethnographica, including the Cook collection, was begun by F. von Hochstetter, and continued after his death, but not finished, by Franz Heger. Further adding to the delay were the two World Wars which necessitated protective removal and storage of the collection.

Now Irmgard Moschner has prepared a detailed and well-illustrated descriptive catalog of some of the Viennese Cook material—that originally labelled as being from Polynesia (New Zealand, Tonga, Society Islands, and Hawaii) and Melanesia (New Hebrides and New Caledonia). Of the 208 numbers inventoried in this section, she has excluded 18 (a number may include more than one piece), which are tapas from Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii; these are to be described in a separate catalog. The remaining 30 numbers of the total of 238 are assigned to artifacts originally labelled as being from the Northwest Coast. These are not described in the present catalog, except for a Nootka Sound club which the author identifies as being from New Zealand. She has also found that among the Pacific island artifacts some are incorrectly labelled, and really come from the Northwest Coast. These are a "Tongan" basket, and from "Tahiti," a fishhook, a pounder erroneously labelled as a "tapa pounder," and two bowls. She suggests that the item labelled as a "Hawaiian feather breast-ornament" may possibly be a Brazilian feather apron. Also noted are artifacts that were listed on the original inventory of purchases but now are missing.

A convenient chart lists each numbered item, tells what it is, notes its labelled origin and any correction in origin or function, and gives the figure or plate numbers in the text. The book is very well organized, and is both interesting to read and extremely useful in research. Included in the great amount of literature examined and condensed in connection with each artifact are relevant quotations from the journals of Cook himself and other members of his expeditions. Indicative of the quality of the catalog are the identification, where possible, of plant and animal material used in the artifacts, and the notation of measurements of the items.

ARCHEOLOGY

The Eye Goddess. O. G. S. Crawford. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1958. 168 pp., appendices, 46 figures, 48 plates. $10.00.

Reviewed by Carroll Quigley, *Georgetown University*

The older generation of British archeologists was sadly depleted by death in 1957. V. Gordon Childe, A. J. B. Wace, and O. G. S. Crawford were lost in the space of three weeks in November. Of these three, Crawford was distinctly the least scholarly and made few direct contributions of significance to archeological knowledge, but his influence might be more permanent than the others. His own archeological work was done in the Sudan (*The Fung Kingdom of Sennar*, 1951) and on the British Long Barrows, but, in the former at least, his contribution rested rather on his summation of the work of others than on his own digging. His great contributions were made rather by his concern with methodology and by his successful efforts to arouse popular interest in archeology.

Crawford's service with the Royal Flying Corps in World War I taught him the value of air reconnaissance. He was a pioneer in the use of air survey in archeology, and

in 1928 published a book publicizing the fact that photography from the air could reveal ancient disturbances of the soil resulting from habitations, field systems, or tracks, even when these were quite invisible at ground level. He is the direct source of such recent books as John Bradford's *Ancient Landscapes in Europe and Asia* or the *Cambridge Air Surveys*.

As a civilian employee of the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain from 1920 to his retirement in 1946, Crawford used all his influence to direct that agency's activities toward archeology. This influence was decisive in establishing a new relationship between archeology and mapping. He abhorred maps of "mixed dates" and advocated "distribution maps," each concerned with a single artifact, and "period maps" of a narrow chronological range. These activities resulted in government publication of maps of "Neolithic Wessex," "Roman Britain," "Seventeenth Century England," and "Britain in the Dark Ages." These methodological interests culminated in Crawford's handbook on archeological techniques, *Archaeology in the Field* (1953).

Crawford's greatest achievement is *Antiquity*, which was his personal journal from its founding in 1927 to his death thirty years later. When Crawford first became concerned with archeology, more than fifty years ago, it was dominated by elderly (usually wealthy) eccentrics whose interests were narrowly restricted, largely to classical antiquity and to objects for collections. Crawford sought to broaden the subject in three ways—so that it would include all periods and areas, would seek to use archeological evidence to reconstruct the total way of life of vanished peoples, and would be of interest to all educated men. *Antiquity* was founded to further these aims and has been more successful than anyone, even Crawford himself, could have dreamed. It is reassuring to know that the magazine will be continued along the same lines under the capable editorship of Dr. Glyn Daniel of St. John's College, Cambridge.

The Eye Goddess is concerned with a fascinating subject and is filled with factual details, illuminated by almost a hundred plates and text figures, but the discussion is not of the high quality the subject needs. The work shows haste, forgivable in a man of 71 with heart trouble, but it fails to use those necessary techniques (such as distribution maps and period maps) which Crawford himself long advocated and which the subject demanded. As a result, I fear, his general thesis, which I personally accept, will not seem convincing to the much larger group of interested persons who do not now accept it. And Crawford's task in this book was not so much to present a theory of cultural diffusion, since the theory had already been advanced by others, as to mobilize the evidence in such a way as to convince those who had rejected the theory when it was previously offered. Crawford's book gives a great deal of evidence, but it is not mobilized and as a result will not, I fear, convince the sceptics.

The thesis itself is not completely clear. It seems to have three parts: (1) that there was a wave, or several waves, of cultural diffusion from Syria about 3000 B.C., westward by way of the Mediterranean to southeast Spain and thence, via the Straits of Gibraltar and the Atlantic, to the Canary Islands, Brittany, Ireland, England, and Denmark; (2) that, as a part of this cultural movement, there passed a religious amalgam concerned with a female fertility deity who was also a goddess of death and resurrection; and (3) that "eyes" were a symbol of this deity. As the title suggests, Crawford centered his attention on this last point. Why he did so is a puzzle, since his decision to write the book was based originally on R. J. C. Atkinson's discovery of a carving of a "Mycenaean" dagger and several axes on the sarsens at Stonehenge. In working backward toward Syria, Crawford tells us, "The axes receded and the Faces [especially

eyes] obtruded themselves." In consequence, Crawford begins his book with the Temple of the Eye Goddess at Tell Brak in eastern Syria. He could hardly have picked a worse point of embarkation.

The Eye Temple of Brak is a poor place to begin because of the site and because of its date. Syria, on the ancient channel of communication (the "Syrian saddle") linking Mesopotamia and the East with the Mediterranean and the West, has always been an area of blurred cultural outlines and of syncretic confusions. And the date of the Eye Temple, about 3000 B.C., is too late in this history of the diffusion of symbols to provide any clarity to their meaning and history.

Any history of symbols must begin at the earliest stage possible, because in the course of time they come to be used as decorative motifs by people to whom they have no meaning, or a different meaning or, worst of all, who take them to be different objects. In this way the United States government placed a fasces on its ten-cent coin and a pyramid-and-oculus on its dollar bill without any idea of the meaning these symbols had thousands of years ago.

If Crawford had followed the axes on Stonehenge backward to their earliest symbolic use on the Iranian plateau more than six thousand years ago, he would have found that the axe symbol developed from two symbols whose meaning was perfectly familiar to him: the triangle and the rod as female and male symbols (H. Rydh, "On Symbolism in Mortuary Ceramics," Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, *Bulletin*, No. 1, 1929, pp. 81–85 and 99–100). Placed together, they symbolized fertility, a vague concept which included biological fertility arising from sexual union, the burial of seed leading to rebirth of the crops, and the burial and resurrection of the dead. This vague concept provided the motivating power which took the axe symbol and other symbols from the Highlands of Western Asia to Britain and beyond.

Crawford's late beginning for his story leads to confusion of the symbols of three different cultural stages—the Neolithic garden cultures (incipient agriculture) of the High lands, the pastorialism of the grasslands, and the urban societies of the alluvial river valleys. These cultures had entirely different social organizations and quite different ideologies and symbol systems. Even when they used the same object as a symbol, its meaning might be different. But in Syria by 3000 B. C. these had become confused. Paleolithic hunters marked time by the moon, while agricultural peoples (except for paleolithic survivals) marked time by the sun. The latter regarded the sun as a male deity and the crescent moon as his consort, while Semitic pastoral peoples not only preserved the lunar calendar but regarded the moon as a masculine god and the sun as female. The pervasive influence of urban civilizations in the ancient Near East spread the solar disk (eventually confused with an eye) as a male symbol and the lunar crescent (eventually confused with a ship symbol) as a female symbol. Combinations of these such as disk and crescent, or oculus and ship, became representations of the whole fertility-resurrection ideology. That the eye was originally a male symbol (as in the eye of Horus or Osiris) like the bull, the fish, the vertical rod, or the menhir (obelisk), and that the ship was originally a female symbol, as was water, the triangle, the crescent, or a bundle of foliage, is as certain as we can ever be about such remote matters (C. Hentze, *Mythes et Symboles Lunaires*, Antwerp, 1932; R. Dussaud, "Motifs et Symboles du IVe Millénaire dans la Céramique Orientale," Syria XVI, 1935, 375–392; F. Dölger, *Ichthus*, 5 vols., Munster, 1922–1939; A. Roes, *Greek Geometric Art: its Symbolism and its Origin*, London, 1933; J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *Symbolisme Cosmique et Monuments Religieux*, Paris, 1952; E. E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient Near*

East, New York, 1941). Unfortunately, Crawford gives little attention to this side of the question.

In beginning his discussion with the Eye Temple at Brak, Crawford fell into the middle of a confusing situation. In reference to both temple and goddess the word "eye" should be plural, for, as Mallowan recognized ("Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar," Iraq IX, 1947, p. 35) "The eye-idols . . . must have been a peculiar localised adaptation of a more widely propagated cult," namely the "spectacle-idols." The latter were derived either from symbols for breasts or, as Frankfort believed (Journal of Near East Studies III, 1944, 198–200; and VIII, 1949, 194–200), from the Mesopotamian "hut symbol." Both referred to the fertility goddess we are studying. The difficulty arose because the early worshippers, being concerned only with the goddesses' female attributes, dispensed with head, arms, and legs and represented the deity by a torso marked only with breasts and pubic triangle (examples in C. Zervos, *L'Art de la Mesopotamie de la fin du quatrième millénaire au XVe siècle avant notre ère*, Paris, 1935, plates 51, 157, 174, or E. Neumann, *The Great Mother*, New York, 1955, plates 6, 8, 10–14 16–17, 23). The breasts and triangle, apart from the torso, became the spectacle symbol with the same significance. At Brak some of the "eyes" are really breasts (Mallowan 1947:plate 25). Crawford was aware of this symbolic confusion of eyes and breasts (pp. 41, 48, 82); in one case (plate 11) he reproduces two similar pot-handles, calling the symbols "eyes" in one case but "breasts" in the other (p. 46). The confusion is understandable because by 3000 B.C. pious persons were drawing "spectacle" symbols without any clear idea that they stood for anything except the general fertility-resurrection conception. Moreover, torsos with two circles and a triangle were carelessly drawn and came to be regarded as faces. Ultimately this developed into the "owl face," the symbol of Athena and other goddesses, such as appears on the famous Athenian tetradrachma. Crawford realized some of this confusion (pp. 91–92) but he never went far enough behind Tell Brak, either in time or space, to see that a fundamental distinction must be made between the "eyes" of the Neolithic earth goddess and the eye or oculus of the urban solar deity. He should have been aware of Margarete Riemschneider's warning against this confusion (*Augengott und heilige Hochzeit*, Leipzig, 1953) because his bibliography lists E. D. van Buren's discussion of this work (in Iraq XVII, 1955, 164–175) but he failed to avoid the error.

In fact, Crawford seems to be quite unaware of the many fundamental books on the early history of religious symbolism. He seems to have depended entirely on A. E. Douglas van Buren's *Symbolism of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art* (Rome, 1945) although this is not mentioned in his bibliography, but he would have profited greatly by pondering on the many other available works. Discussion of some of these works with an indication of what they have to contribute to the early history of symbolism will be found in a recent article by the present reviewer ("The Origin and Diffusion of Oculi," American Neptune, January 1958).

If Crawford had made a list of the divine symbols of ancient western Asia and traced the diffusion of each symbol separately to northwestern Europe, coordinating their movements with other examples of cultural diffusion such as the use of metals or faience beads (J. F. S. Stone, "The Use and Distribution of Faience in the Ancient East and Prehistoric Europe," Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society XXII, 1956, 37–84) or techniques of ship construction (as I did in the American Neptune for January 1958), he would have achieved a work able to convince many sceptics. But instead, he concentrated on the misconception of an "Eye-Goddess" and organized his book in a series of geographic areas westward from Syria. Since the "Eye-Goddess" evidence

from some areas was not satisfactory he then tried to link these unsatisfactory areas into his diffusion chain by discussing other symbols or artifacts (such as croziers, pp. 74–76; axes, 76–77; or baetyls, 82–86). This method results in considerable confusion of symbols, areas, and chronology. Crawford was aware of this methodological confusion, especially of his chronological violations, for which he apologizes in several places (as pp. 23, 56), but he failed to take the time and hard thinking needed to organize the subject according to the methodological principles to which he was really devoted.

The Eye Goddess is not Crawford's last book, since the Hakluyt Society will publish his completed manuscript on the medieval roads of Abyssinia. His many admirers can but hope that this posthumous work will be a more typical example of its author's many valuable contributions to archeology than is the present work.

The Sawmill Site: A Reserve Phase Village, Pine Lawn Valley, Western New Mexico. ELAINE A. BLUHM. (Fieldiana: Anthropology, Vol. 47, No. 1.) Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, 1957. 86 pp., 32 figures, 1 table. $2.25.

Hidden House: A Cliff Ruin in Sycamore Canyon, Central Arizona. KEITH A. DIXON. (Museum of Northern Arizona, Bulletin 29.) Flagstaff: Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, 1956. x, 90 pp., frontispiece, 33 figures. $3.00.

Reviewed by RAYMOND H. THOMPSON, *University of Arizona*

These two monographs present essentially descriptive material from two very different Southwestern sites, and thus appear at first glance to be uncomfortable companions in a single review. However, it is because of the contrast between them that a joint appraisal is appropriate. These reports are examples of the steady flow of varied contributions to the descriptive literature from which Southwestern archeology has always drawn much of its strength, and are therefore reminders that Southwestern archeology continues to derive its vigor from the diversity of its descriptive base.

The Sawmill Site is a small masonry pueblo which was occupied early in the Reserve Phase and probably before 1000 A.D. by people of basically Mogollon culture. The most interesting feature at the site is a large, rectangular, masonry kiva, the only structure of its kind in the approximately 40 sites of this period in the southern part of the Pine Lawn Valley. Bluhm's careful appraisal of the chronological and cultural significance of this structure is a valuable addition to the literature on Mogollon great kivas. She offers interesting but all too brief comments on the long local tradition of religious architecture and on the influence of the large ceremonial rooms in the settlement pattern of the region.

Hidden House is a small Pueblo III cliff dwelling built during the Honanki Focus by the southern Sinagua in a tributary of the upper Verde Valley in central Arizona. Dixon's thorough study is primarily an analysis of the unusually well preserved materials found in a burial of the final years of the 12th century just prior to the abandonment of the site. This collection, which is in the Arizona State Museum, includes a painted blanket with designs typical of those found on late Pueblo III black-on-white pottery, several items of clothing, an unusual cloth quiver, several cloth and human hair bags, bows and arrows, a feathered stick, an agave box, plain and decorative baskets, and a gourd container. The technical and comparative analysis is presented in meticulous detail, but the photographic illustrations are all but useless. This incredibly poor reproduction from the clear photographic copy which was submitted by the author is certainly no credit to the unnamed firm which produced this miserable

example of offset printing. Perhaps the printer chose to remain anonymous to avoid the publicity which would stem from assuming responsibility for the obvious lack of craftsmanship in the presswork.

Indian Art of Mexico and Central America. MIGUEL COVARRUBIAS. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957. xvi, 360 pp., color plates, 146 figures, 64 plates. $17.50.

Reviewed by H. B. NICHOLSON, *University of California, Los Angeles*

The recent untimely death of Miguel Covarrubias deprived Mesoamerican archeology of a brilliant esthetic talent and an enthusiastic and imaginative student. Fortunately, the present volume was completed just before his final illness; it was intended as the second of a contemplated trilogy on the aboriginal art of the entire Western Hemisphere (the first, *The Eagle, the Jaguar, and the Serpent*, contained a general introduction and surveys of the culture areas north of Mexico). Certainly, no practicing artist of this generation was better equipped to undertake such an ambitious project.

From the strictly esthetic point of view, the volume is superb. Adorned with hundreds of original drawings and paintings and many fine photographs, often of previously unpublished pieces, there is probably nothing extant which can match it on this score. Entirely apart from the text, it will always have permanent value as a compendium of illustrative source material. But the book is, and was intended to be, much more than a description and history of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican art. In many respects, notwithstanding a number of obvious gaps and weaknesses, it constitutes the best popular up-to-date introduction to Mesoamerican archeology as a whole (heavily slanted, of course, to the esthetic-ceremonial side). Often, in fact, the esthetic analysis is definitely underplayed in comparison with the amount of space devoted to general archeological description and interpretation.

Nearly all major regions of Mesoamerica receive some coverage, although certain important areas and styles earn only a cursory glance (the virtual omission of Xochicalco is a distinct drawback, as is the lack of any serious discussion of the important Izapa and Cotzumalhuapa styles). The book is strongest for those areas in which its author's interest was well-known, particularly the Olmec-La Venta style, whose ea ly date he so enthusiastically championed (with seeming vindication from recent radiocarbon dates and other sources). Among the major styles, it is perhaps weakest for Maya and Toltec-Aztec. The existence of Proskouriakoff's *A Study of Classic Maya Sculpture* may partly explain why more space was not allotted to this style, although an evident "anti-Maya" bias might also have been a factor. His treatment of Toltec-Aztec art, though sketchy, is often distinguished by penetrating if over-emotive stylistic comments. However, I am not entirely convinced of the correctness of his analysis of the precise elements which entered into the genesis of the latter style.

Many of Covarrubias' major ideas (often developed in previous publications) regarding the general trends of Mesoamerican culture history appear essentially sound, although others would be classified as controversial and speculative. His overall chronologic framework would probably be accepted by most, although many would prefer "Post-Classic" to "Historic" or "Late" for the last horizon. Minor errors of fact and interpretation are common, but seldom serious enough to distort the broad canvas of the larger culture-historical picture he quite vividly paints. Covarrubias wrote clearly, often forcibly and colorfully, and seldom hesitated to take a positive stand on major issues and problems. His biases are usually above-board, and he customarily argues his position with skill and clarity (interestingly, his well-known position in favor of trans-Pacific diffusion is definitely underplayed throughout). His stylistic evolutionary

charts are always stimulating and provocative, despite certain reservations which many are likely to have on specifics.

One objection I would raise along interpretative and nomenclatural lines is his loose and over-generalized use of the term "Mixtec," which he ill-advisedly proposes to substitute for the accepted "Mixteca-Puebla." He consistently under-estimates the role played by the Nahuas of Puebla and adjoining regions in the development and carrying of this final Mesoamerican horizon style. He is even led by this terminology to speak of "Mixtec polychrome" at Cholula and to identify the Codex Borgia as "Mixtec," rejecting the well-established and apt term, "Cholulteca." I feel that he definitely exaggerates the artistic influence of Mixtec-speaking craftsmen on Aztec and other styles, and his suggestion that speakers of this language were responsible for the further development of the Olmec-La Venta style is highly speculative.

Unhappily, this beautiful book is marred by a number of typographical and captional errors, most of which would probably have been avoided had its author lived to see it through the press (e.g., without attempting a systematic tally, I counted more than 20 misspelled personal names). Captions on figures and plates are often missplaced or garbled. All too frequently, proveniences and present locations of illustrated objects are omitted (especially serious in the case of Figure 94). Credit is occasionally lacking for certain illustrations when it is due. Merely to list these errors would consume more space than this entire review can justifiably occupy, but some of the grossest deserve mention: the wooden image of Figure 122, originally published by Jacobs Muller, labeled from the "Cave of Huapacalco, near Tulancingo, Hidalgo," was found in the cave of Oztocama, Cualac, Guerrero; Figure 108 is Stela 1, Bonampak, not the sarcophagus lid in the Palenque tomb; the caption on Figure 140 does not indicate that this carving is a somewhat hypothetical reconstruction of this reviewer's, based on two surviving fragments; the Olmec-La Venta monument of Plate XIII, said to be from [San Isidro] Piedra Parada, is from La Venta itself; the monument of Plate XV, listed as "Altar B, La Venta," is Monument 2, Potrero Nuevo; the Olmec votive axe of Plate XVI, lower left, is upside down; the caption of Plate XXVIII is badly garbled and confuses the two pieces; the figurine incensario of Plate L, upper right, is from Mayapan, not Palenque; the provenience of the Xochicalcoid plaque of Plate LVI, lower left, not given, is Calle Escalerillas, Mexico City; the caption of Plate LVIII is badly garbled (the dates are really: years 10 Ehecatl, 11 Calli; day 2 Tecpatl); the rock-crystal skull of Plate LIX, upper right, is apparently Aztec in style, not "Mixtec"; the Calendar Stone and Cuauhxicalli of Tizoc (Plate LX) are, of course, not from Teotihuacan; I am personally somewhat skeptical of the authenticity of the piece illustrated in Plate LXII, right. This selective list should at least serve to indicate the extent of the errors.

All in all, this handsome volume, in spite of its flaws, stands as a fitting monument to the memory of a creatively gifted personality whose place in the ranks of students of the pre-Hispanic culture history of Mesoamerica and of American Indian art in general cannot easily be filled.

LINGUISTICS

Language: An Enquiry into Its Meaning and Function. RUTH NANDA ANSHEN (Ed.) (Science of Culture Series, Vol. VIII.) New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. xviii, 366 pp. $6.00.

Reviewed by SAMUEL E. MARTIN, *Yale University*

This collection of essays "draws attention to the mystery, the miracle, and the magic of language" (xvi). By its existence, the book offers readers who are students of

primitive beliefs some primary data for a study of their persistence in modern civilization. Others, I suspect, will be appalled by the orientation shown in such revealing statements as these: "Language exists *ab aeterno*, immutable in its transcendent purity and revealing itself from time to time in the historical existence of mankind" (p. 10). "It is fortunate that the reasons whereby it is generally proved that language cannot have been invented by man are irrefutable. . . . For God created language even as He created man" (p. 4). " . . . children . . . may be said never to *learn* a language since we can only learn that which does not belong to us" (p. 14).

The mystery and the miracle is that such remarks should appear in a series with the presumptuous title "The Science of Culture." To be sure, the above quotations are all from the editor, who, in her lush introduction "Language as Idea" (pp. 3–17) and her pious conclusion "Language as Communication" (pp. 341–55), leaves no doubt that she believes in God, distrusts empiricism, and loathes positivists, mechanists, existentialists, and several other modern breeds. Among the papers themselves, there are a few of merit. Goldstein's remarks on aphasia (mistitled "The Nature of Language") are worth reading, though he has stated his ideas better elsewhere. Roman Jakobson's "The Cardinal Dichotomy in Language" is just as stimulating as it was when it appeared a year earlier at Part II of Jakobson and Halle's *Fundamentals of Language*. N. H. Tur-Sinai's "The Origin of Language" is not as bad as its title suggests; it could be retitled "The development of certain grammatical categories in Semitic languages." The remaining papers roam around topics in metaphysics, esthetics, or religion; with the exception of Charles W. Morris' "Mysticism and its Language," they leave me singularly unimpressed.

The aims of the book, Miss Anshen tells us, include "the attempt to demonstrate the errors and the ineptitudes of the exclusively empirical approach in understanding the problem of language" (xvii); the authors feel that it is important (xviii) "to comprehend the broader implications of the science of linguistics if one is to be preserved from the sterility and futility which a purely technical treatment of the question would inevitably impose."

It is really quite daring of Miss Anshen to suggest (xviii) that reality compels us to accept Heraclitus' injunction: "Do not listen to me, but to the *Word* and confess that all things are one." What a glorious way out! And it saves us wading through all the verbiage, too.

Language: A Modern Synthesis. JOSHUA WHATMOUGH. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1956. viii, 270 pp., appendices, figures, glossary. $4.75.

Reviewed by D. H. HYMES, *Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences*

Dr. Whatmough, Professor of Comparative Philology at Harvard, has written a book "directed at the interest, and it is great, of intelligent people, and they are many, in one or more of the several aspects of language; not at the experts in any of these aspects (or in any particular language), who may well be critical of the treatment of their specialties" (p. v). It is expressly not intended as a book about linguistics (p. 7). The twelve chapters comprise a series of related essays on aspects of language deemed of interest and importance. The Glossary and the Appendices contain various technical terms and bits of technical detail.

Some of the chapters cover the same ground as must any general book entitled

Language. Whatmough has a superb English style, and while the same points may be made in other books, it is worthwhile having them come at from a different tack. Throughout the book the most recent developments in acoustics, statistics, and phonology are taken note of, and throughout is woven the thread of a fascination with the concept of entropy. Whatmough proposes "selective variation" as a key term under which the modern approaches to language can be subsumed and integrated.

Of exotic languages, Southern Paiute and Cree are favorite sources of examples. Some statements about American Indian languages should be corrected. Thus, one of them, Guaraní, may well come "into the main current of modern civilizations" (p. 34); see Garvin and Mathiot, The Urbanization of the Guaraní Language (to appear in Proceedings of the 5th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences). To say that "Paiute again, like other American Indian dialects, has distinctive forms of verb to correspond to the distinction of meaning between whether an object is visible or not with regard to what is predicated of it" (p. 45) is to suggest a New World genetic unity and morphological universal, neither of which is the case. Whatmough rejects complete linguistic relativity and the extreme view that scientific theory is a mere recept from linguistic habit, but his rejection goes to another extreme: a moderate sense of cultural relativity would prevent ending a chapter with the statement: "Taboo and the dead hand of tradition lead directly to where the Hopi and Navaho are" (p. 85).

A student of language will find much with which to agree and disagree, both often memorably put. Example: "It is not possible for linguists to hand over phonetics to physics, and meaning to sociology, as some have proposed, without making structural linguistics utterly sterile, a risk of which this subject is already in greater danger" (p. 145). (On this point, compare Paul Garvin [AA 58:569] on the "dead center reached by American structuralism in the last decade" because of its "gradual exclusion of meaning from the province of linguistics proper"; and Charles Hockett [Language in Culture, AAA, Memoir 79]: "Ethnography without linguistics is blind. Linguistics without ethnography is sterile." If linguistics of such diverse backgrounds can so agree there is real hope of remedy.)

The beginning student will find much to intrigue and even excite him, but the exclusion of almost all reference to the scholarly literature or to scholars' names is a grave defect. A good grasp of linguistics is needed to identify all the work and problems to which the book alludes (e.g., Swadesh and glottochronology, Jakobson and distinctive features). In fact, the book might well be used to test an advanced student's grasp of the field.

In short, a book, well-phrased and au courant which may provoke a student's initial interest in language, or provide a refreshing supplement to ordinary textbooks and manuals.

The Linguistic Theories of N. Ja. Marr. LAWRENCE L. THOMAS. (University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 14.) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957. xii, 176 pp. $3.50.

Reviewed by GEORGE P. SPRINGER, *Yale University*

Thomas has presented a careful analysis of the controversial theories of the late Soviet scholar, N. Ja. Marr, who was a philologist, archeologist, and ethnologist, in addition to being a linguist. As to the latter description, it would perhaps be more ac-

curate to call Marr a polyglot who derived some rather fantastic ideas on the nature of language from a broad knowledge of numerous languages.

The book depicts the growth of Marr's theories, which began with a modest (and then highly fashionable) attempt to link two language families (Kartvelian and Semitic), and culminated in wholly unsupported claims of deep insights into the prehistory, history, and final "unification" of all languages. The author has accomplished this difficult and tedious task with exemplary objectivity and great erudition, which are exceeded only by his patience with Marr's writings.

While Marr had gained academic stature before World War I, his meteoric rise to the position of "Czar" of Soviet linguistics occurred only after the revolution. At that time, Marr, the academic iconoclast, became persona gratissima to the political iconoclasts, i.e., the Bolsheviks. Marr's Japhetic Theory became identified with "Marxist linguistics," and out of this union grew his "New Doctrine of Language" which claimed universal validity with respect to the origin, development, and ultimate destiny of all languages. As such, it held sway in Soviet linguistic teaching and research for 20 years, until debunked as "anti-Marxist" by Stalin in 1950.

Thomas' treatment of Marr's hypotheses focuses on the latter's methods. He demonstrates that from beginning to end, Marr's methods were inadequate to the tasks which he set himself. Marr started by doing justice to a dictum attributed to Voltaire, that "etymology is a science in which vowels count for nothing and consonants for very little;" and, having progressively discarded all controls of phonemics, semantics, space, and time, he ended up by pure intuition. In view of this focus, the reviewer feels that Thomas could have given the reader a fuller share of his critical insights. Marr's constructs are all too often accorded the benefit of the doubt, and the author has benevolently searched for internal consistencies where Marr cared too little to establish any. In the light of what we know today of culture in general, of language in culture, of languages in contact, and of the structure and development of phonemic patterns, Marr's theories could be subjected to a far sterner critique than Thomas has exercised.

A critique could also be made of the effects which Marr's follies have had on Soviet linguistics and related fields in terms of solutions to pressing problems, such as the description and alphabetization of minority languages, or dialect geography; in terms of training of linguists and others who had to memorize his dogmas; in terms of misery visited on those among Marr's colleagues who, like Polivanov, refused to accept or teach his dicta. There are only hints of a critique on this level. Despite the fact, often lamented by Marr himself, that both at home and abroad he met with constant scholarly opposition, a situation arose in the Soviet Union, due to the political implications of the "New Doctrine," which was reminiscent of Andersen's tale of the Emperor's New Clothes: as everyone praised the Emperor's suit without seeing it, so the Soviet politicians and academic connivers praised Marr's theory without understanding it, or else knowing it to be devoid of substance. Fear was the motivation in each case.

By publication of the present volume the author has done a great service for linguistic science, and especially Soviet linguistic science. His dispassionate exposition has brought a modicum of order into an area where theoretical chaos and political stupidity have long been endemic. Considerable praise is due him for intelligible English renderings of Marr's incredible pseudoscientific prose, and the editors and printers are to be complimented on the first-class execution of a difficult task.

In these days of spectacular Soviet scientific advances, Marr's story provides a

sobering backward glance at an era when politicians were convinced they could rule on scientific questions. The lesson of Marr, Lysenko, and others has taken a long time to be learned in the Soviet Union. One hopes it is not lost on others, elsewhere.

Hawaiian-English Dictionary. MARY KAWENA PUKUI and SAMUEL H. ELBERT. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1957. xxx, 362 pp. $15.00.

Reviewed by ISIDORE DYEN, *Yale University*

This is the most complete dictionary of Hawaiian that has yet been produced. It is the product of years of work on the part of the first author, whose dedication to the language of her ancestors is hard to match. Elbert's particular contribution appears in the introductory section on grammar and in the suggested Proto-Polynesian and Proto-Malayopolynesian forerunners of particular entries. The efficient writing of the entries and their careful organization is no doubt due to the combined efforts of the authors.

In a work of this size many faults are certain to be found. The full size of the book is hard to realize, since the type used in the section on grammar and in the definitions is very small (6-point Post Text); the book is thus less costly, but its contents are correspondingly harder to use.

From a scientific standpoint, the determination that long vowels are short vowels plus length (noted by a macron) rather than double vowels simply serves to add a phoneme to the inventory. Another weakness is that the difference between phrase and compound is nowhere made clear. Thus the entry ***kāne makua*** "elder brother or elder male cousin in the senior line of a woman's husband" is presumably a phrase containing *kāne* "male, husband . . . man . . . " and ***makua*** "parent, any relative of the parents' generation, as uncle, aunt, cousin . . . " On the other hand *'ōhai-'ula* "the royal poinciana . . . " is regarded as a compound despite the fact that it contains *'ōhai* "monkeypod or rain tree, . . . " and *'ula* "red, . . . "

One might wish to draw the line between affixes and particles at a different point. For example, the element *'ia* "passive/imperative" is classed among "nondetermining particles after words" (xxii). The latter are distinguished from suffixes because "(a) the suffixes are phonologically bound to their stems; they are not stressed if they consist of a single syllable; (b) the suffixes are inseparably bound to their stems, whereas adjectives, adverbs, and compound members may occur between a word and the modifying particles." Indeed, in the illuminating scheme of the Hawaiian phrase (xxiv f.), the verb in class III is separated from *'ia* in class VIII by just the elements described. Nevertheless, it is possible to regard the entire sequence as constituting a single verb with *'ia* as a suffix.

Furthermore, another nondetermining particle, "IX. *'ana* 'nominalizing particle' " (xxiii) which holds position IX in the Hawaiian phrase, should perhaps also be regarded as a suffix. Such an analysis might lead to a difference in translation in some instances: e.g. *'i ko'u mana'o wale 'ana* "just in my opinion" (xxvii) might be "in my private opinion." The difference is that Elbert's translation indicates *wale* as an attribute of *mana'o . . . 'ana*, whereas the suggested translation will regard *mana'o wale* "think alone" which is nominalized by the addition of *'ana*.

Despite any faults that one may find it with, this can rightfully be regarded as the present century's greatest contribution to the study of the Hawaiian language. It is also probable that it is phonemically the most accurate dictionary of a Polynesian language that has yet been published.

CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

The Patient and the Mental Hospital. MILTON GREENBLATT, DANIEL J. LEVINSON, and RICHARD H. WILLIAMS (Eds.) Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957. xviii, 658 pp., figures, tables. $6.00.

Reviewed by SEYMOUR PARKER, *The Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia*

In recent years a number of social scientists have been engaged in collaborative research with personnel from the fields of medicine and its ancillary professions. This volume represents the fruit of such efforts as applied to "The Patient and the Mental Hospital." It consists of 38 articles falling into the following four content areas: the mental hospital and its implications for treatment; therapeutic personnel; the ward and the patient; and the extra-hospital world. In both scope and quality of research, the volume represents, in the opinion of this reviewer, a significant contribution to our understanding of the relationship between the sociocultural environment and the disease processes seen in the mental hospital. While there is little doubt of the potential contribution of these studies to the promotion of mental health, it is unfortunate that there was relatively little emphasis on using these rich data so as to contribute to the development of the social sciences. Among the notable exceptions to this statement are the studies by John Spiegel on "The Resolution of Role Conflict within the Family" and one by Polansky, White, and Miller on the relationship between the role-image of the patient and the nature of his participation in the hospital environment.

In a short review it would be presumptuous to attempt to discuss individual articles. It is important, however, to note some of the implications of this work for current problems of anthropological field research. Some of the insights developed in this volume could profitably be applied to an analysis of systems of medicine in non-Western societies. For example, Parsons makes some interesting comments on the impact of some of our societal values on the manner in which the mental hospital carries out its functions. A few of his conceptualizations would be helpful in studying the organization of medicine in non-Western societies as it reflects different value orientations. In another stimulating article by Morris Schwartz, the author addresses himself to the question of "What is a Therapeutic Milieu?" He attempts to provide a framework for considering the therapeutic implications of the microsociety of the mental hospital. It may be that with continuing progress in the direction of clarifying the concept of a therapeutic milieu, some of these insights will provide field anthropologists with an important tool for cross-cultural studies of mental health and illness—an area which is still largely undeveloped. The specification of a conceptual scheme for analyzing the therapeutic or pathogenic elements of a social environment may enable us to go beyond such crude and semiliterary descriptions of cultures as "paranoid," "Appollonian," or "hard" and "soft." On the basis of the research reported here, there is every promise that future work done by social scientists and psychiatrists in the mental hospital may serve to enrich the mainstream of anthropological field research.

FOLKLORE AND MYTHOLOGY

Slavic Folklore: A Symposium. ALBERT BATES LORD (Ed.) (Vol. 6, Bibliographical and Special Series) Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1956. viii, 132 pp. n.p.

Reviewed by SULA BENET, *Hunter College*

During the last decade many books and articles have appeared in English on different aspects of Slavic cultures, but only a negligible portion of them was devoted to

folklore. This is a pity, since folklore has always been very much alive and socially meaningful among the Slavs.

The articles in the present much-needed collection range in time from the 11th century to the present, and in subject from the ancient epic songs to mute language and to recent harvest festivals among Czech and Slovak immigrants in the United States. The preface by the editor, Albert Bates Lord, suggests the scope of the symposium and indicates the chief points of interest in the individual articles.

"Dostoevsky's Use of Russian Folklore" by George Gibian is easily the most significant piece. It is a penetrating and well-supported inquiry into Dostoevsky's consistent use of folk tradition in conceiving his major characters. Gibian reveals what few have realized, even those well-versed in Russian literature—that Dostoevsky in *The Brothers Karamazov, The Idiot, Crime and Punishment* and other books, shaped his main protagonists after the archetypal figures of Russian folklore. It becomes clear that the three brothers Karamazov, for instance, exemplify on a complex level the common fairy tale motif of the Three Brothers, of whom the youngest, always the naive simpleton, succeeds where the others fail and succeeds essentially because of his moral goodness.

Three other articles, by Dmitri Čiževsky, George Vernadsky and Dazmbulat Dzanty, and Roman Jakobson, deal with important and hitherto unpublished portions of heroic epic cycles. "Some Social Aspects of Bulgarian Folksongs" provides good descriptive material, while "The Story of Van'ka Kain" analyzes the well-known Russian tale. Finally, three interesting articles on divination, comparative choreology, and mute language complete the symposium. Although the articles are written on differing levels of scholastic exposition, they are all competent, and some are excellent. Detailed notes and bibliography accompany most of the studies.

Songs and Tales of the Sea Kings. J. Frank Stimson. (With contributions by Van Wyck Brooks and Susanne McConnaughey.) (Edited by Donald S. Marshall.) Salem: The Peabody Museum, 1957. xlix, 237 pp. $6.50.

Reviewed by Kenneth P. Emory, *Bishop Museum, Honolulu*

With the subtitle "Interpretations of the oral literature of Polynesia," this is a book of excellent format in which J. Frank Stimson presents interpretations of several tales and legends and of some ninety chants. There is a preface by Donald S. Marshall, Research Anthropologist for Polynesia, Peabody Museum, Salem, a prologue by Van Wyck Brooks, and an introduction by Susanne McConnaughey, entitled "The Sea Kings."

McConnaughey's introduction is a well-rounded sketch of Polynesian life, delightfully written. Concerning the songs and tales, we are informed by Donald Marshall, who edited and arranged them, that (p. xii), "Most of the originals were transcribed by him [Stimson] on the island of Raivavae in the Austral group, on several islands of the Tuamotuan archipelago, or upon his beloved Tahiti." The reader is left to guess from which island group any particular chant or story came, except for one Hawaiian and one Marquesan chant. The reasons for this omission in a book which purports to be a contribution to anthropology is stated thus (p. xiii): "The fact that an episode or chanty was recorded upon a particular island during the recent period cannot guarantee the correct placement of its origin in time or space. The Polynesians have always been great travelers and avid collectors of the literature of other lands."

By the same token, it follows that an episode or chant recorded during the recent

period is no guarantee that it has not been influenced by the new interisland and foreign contacts from the beginning of the recent period down to and including the recorder. As no sources are given, we have no means of knowing if a chant or story is from an old, a new, or a reliably established source. As none of the native texts are given, nor references as to where they may be found, it would be impossible for anyone who does not have access to them to judge whether other interpretations are possible, or if the interpreter has gone beyond the bounds of the texts in striving for literary effect and the embodiment of theories he may entertain. The implication is that none of this is necessary. To that end, Marshall's "An appreciatory preface" is devoted.

Most of the tales and songs selected by Marshall are from the Tuamotuan Islands, gathered during the Bishop Museum Tuamotuan Expedition of 1929–1931, on which Stimson served as linguist and I as ethnologist and leader, and on the follow-up during the Bishop Museum Mangarevan Expedition of 1934. The value of the material transcribed by Stimson lies in the recording of the sources, and the fact that we know when, where, from whom, and under what circumstances each legend, chant, and genealogy was transcribed. One copy of this unstudied material is on file at the Bishop Museum and the other copy was recently placed with the Peabody Museum at Salem.

The prologue by Van Wyck Brooks, Stimson's brother-in-law, furnishes biographical details which are helpful for the study and understanding of Stimson and his interpretations. He says (p. xxxi) that Stimson was "deeply interested in questions of religion as long as they were exotic and picturesque. As the architect of an East Indian bungalow-palace, he had become a Buddhist in San Francisco, while studying the hermetic philosophy of ancient Egypt; and he wished now to investigate the old Polynesian religion, hoping to find trace of it in some of the islands." And further on (p. xxxv), "Intensely drawn to the Polynesians, entirely at home with them, he thought, as it seemed to him, actually as they did, and he remembered moonlight nights when, sitting with them on the beach, he felt they were telling stories of his own forebears. Many of them were convinced that he was literally an incarnation of one of their own high priests or ancient nobles, and he rather encouraged this notion, for it made them feel it was useless to withhold any of their secrets from such a man."

When it is a matter of learning original concepts of a native cosmogony and religion long abandoned and overlaid with Christian doctrine, such a posture is a dangerous one on the part of an inquirer embued with a theory he is out to prove. As many of the chants in *Songs and Tales* have to do with cosmogony and religion, one may well wish he could confirm whether Stimson's chants and interpretations truly reflect local, original, pre-European concepts, or concepts engendered by him. Marshall gives no hint that the original texts for a number of the chants in *Songs and Tales*, and texts of other versions have been printed, and that a comparison of Stimson's chants with them has been disturbing to many who hoped that he was acquiring genuine material in his belief that he was uncovering a cult in the Tuamotus similar in its esoteric aspects to the cult of Io in New Zealand.

Stimson's chant entitled "Invocation" (p. 211) is his interpretation of the text of two prayers I recorded in 1934 from dictation by aged Temae of Napuka, an eyewitness to temple ceremonies (see K. P. Emory, *Tuamotuan Religious Structures and Ceremonies*, B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 191; 71, 74–75). Stimson adds together these two prayers, delivered at different times during the immolation of a turtle, omits names of ancestral gods actually mentioned, and translates *niu*, the term for the little stone effigy of a turtle laid upon a turtle sacrifice to consecrate it, as "Sacred origin,"

"Unknowable one," "Creatress of power and authority," "Sustainer," "Foundress," "sovereign Goddess," "Source-of-all." The ending of the first prayer, *kia ho*, is interpreted as "Dual-origin—the Eternal-twain." Stimson considers this ending, as he does many other conventional ways of ending chants, as a disguise for the name of a god addressed, because the name was too sacred to be pronounced by itself. Evidently he considers *kia ho* as a garbled form or disguise for the divinity Kio-Kiho, of the esoteric cult he believes anciently underlay all Polynesian religion. "Dual-origin—the Eternal-twain" is his attribute for this divinity. The ancestral gods Tu, Rangi, Mataiki, and Mataho are not mentioned by these names but are translated as epithets of the divinity in question as "God-standing erect, God of the high heavens, the divine twain: First-beginning-gathering-together; First-beginning-of-radiant-light."

Stimson follows the same procedure in many of the other chants, as in "Purification Rite" (pp. 205–206), where he shuffles two prayers to make one, drops out the numerous names of ancestral gods actually addressed, and substitutes for "him" in "it [the offering] is laid before him" the terms "Inscrutable Spirit," "Universal Essence-of-all-things," and so on. The texts of the two prayers may be seen in *Tuamotuan Religious Structures and Ceremonies* (pp. 77, 78). They were copied from manuscripts, one of which records 1848 as the date of transcription. Written as the caption for the long prayer was this (translated): "Prayer for the consecration of a turtle on the temple of Poureva, at Hao." Stimson has interpreted Tangaroa-niua in the prayer as, "O Invisible Creator, O Foundress-ever-enduring." The name Tangaroa is not mentioned and one wonders what the old sages would have thought of ascribing the female sex to this venerable Polynesian god.

We found that most of the cosmogonic chants and genelogies and temple prayers which survived had been written down in family manuscript books, which we were allowed to transcribe. While working up our material on Tuamotuan concepts of creation and on Tuamotuan religious ceremonies, I had ample opportunity to compare the "esoteric" chants given Stimson by a number of our informants with what was contained in their family books and with what they had given before he had persuaded them to "divulge" that they had been among the privileged taught the lore of Kio-Kiho. I also had opportunities to check what they had said in support of having been taught differently. In publishing our material I have given enough of my findings to justify eschewing these esoteric versions and interpretations, and the alteration and interpretation of chants on the basis of them. (See K. P. Emory, Journal of the Polynesian Society: *The Tuamotuan creation charts by Paiore*; vol. 48:1–29; *Tuamotuan concepts of creation*, vol. 49:69–136; *A newly discovered illustration of Tuamotuan creation*, vol. 49:569–578; and *Tuamotuan religious structures and ceremonies*, B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 191:102).

In *Songs and Tales*, the esoteric interpretations of Tuamotuan chants have taken an interesting turn since the days of the Tuamotuan Expeditions. Then Kiho, the name given by Paea of Anaa, the first informant to come up with an equivalent for Io, and the name chosen by Fariua of Fangatau Island after many days of association with Paea in Papeete, was the name for the esoteric god in the western Tuamotus; Kio, the name Stimson derived by splitting *kio* from *tokio*, a form of chant-ending in the Vahitahi area, was the name of the god in the eastern Tuamotus. Now, from what source or sources we are not informed in *Songs and Tales*, it develops that Kio is the name of the god in his male aspect, and Kiho in his female aspect. Thus, in "A Psalm of Creation" (pp. 4–9), Stimson has gone back on Paea's account which he published

with text *Tuamotuan Religion* (Bishop Museum Bulletin 103; 14–19)—an account which no doubt was strongly influenced by Paea's intimate knowledge of the Tahitian account of Ta'aroa as creator, and by what he had learned of the Io cult through us—and has injected into it the name Kio and this male and female aspect of a creator. Paea, in turn, under the drive to produce a Tuamotuan equivalent of Io, had gone back on what he had actually been taught, as revealed in his family manuscript, and injected Kiho (see *Tuamotuan creation chants by Paiore*, ibid: 25).

Paea's original account is confirmed by numerous Tuamotuan manuscripts. In these Tumu-Po mates with Tumu-Ao to produce Tumu-Haruru of the next stage of the development of the cosmos, and so on until the emergence of Atea, personification of the sky, and Fakahotu, personification of the earth. Whereas in the Kio-Kiho-ized version, Kiho creates Tumu-Po and Kio creates Tumu-Ao. This is something new in Tuamotuan concepts.

When Stimson's occult interpretations are not involved, as in the lilting songs, "A chanty" (p. 57), and "Beached" (p. 64), we can usually enter into the enjoyment of them as poetical interpretations of old and unaltered chants. However, the purpose of *Songs and Tales of the Sea Kings* is obviously to give Stimson free scope to display his skill as a poet and to put forth his esoteric chants and interpretations unhampered by reality.

OTHER

Geography in the Twentieth Century. GRIFFITH TAYLOR (Ed.) New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. xi, 674 pp., 57 figures, 15 plates. $10.00.

Reviewed by WILLIAM L. THOMAS, JR., *University of California, Riverside*

This is the third edition of a symposium-type volume first published in 1951 but not previously reviewed in this journal. Twenty-nine chapters are contributed by 23 authors (six by the editor), of whom seven are from the United States, six from Canada, and eight from England. The volume, subtitled "A Study of Growth, Fields, Techniques, Aims and Trends," is thus an international, or English-speaking union, counterpart of a similar work, *American Geography, Inventory and Prospect*, published for the Association of American Geographers by Syracuse University Press in 1954.

Part I, "Evolution of Geography and Its Philosophical Basis," surveys the development of geography with emphasis on the last century. The chapters on geographic thought in France and Germany are especially useful. Part II discusses general environmental topics such as geomorphology, weather and climate, soils, followed by characterizations of various world regions such as the Arctic, Antarctica, the humid tropics, and Great Britain. Part III is a collection of articles on "Special Fields of Geography," with emphasis on the application of geography to world-wide problems. This composite may be effectively mined by the anthropologist provided that due care is taken, for some views expressed are highly individualistic. Recommended chapters are: VI, "Environmentalism and Possibilism" by George Tatham; XX, "The Sociological Aspects of Geography" by J. Wreford Watson; XXVII, "The Geographical Interpretation of Air Photography" by F. Walker, and XXVIII, "The Relations of Geography and History" by H. C. Darby.

The addition of the last-mentioned chapter distinguishes this volume from previous editions. Darby " . . . sets out some remarks about the geography behind history, about the geographies of the past, and about the history behind geography," concluding that " . . . the landscape we see today is a collection of legacies from the past, some from

geological, some from historical, times." The anthropologist would make clearer than does Darby that the historical includes the full range of human prehistory.

A Manual for Neanderthals. H. MEWHINNEY. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1957. xi, 122 pp., 20 illustrations. $3.50.

Reviewed by J. E. WECKLER, *University of Southern California*

The author of this engaging and informative little book is a veteran newspaper man whose avocational interests range from Greek and Latin literature through ornithology and coon-hunting to archeology and flint flaking. He even co-founded the Sam Bass Garden Club (devoted to stealing trees).

The basic purpose of the book is to serve as a manual of instruction to anyone who might be interested in learning to chip flint into forms similar and even superior to the implements made by our Stone Age ancestors. Techniques of selecting flint and chipping it in the various Paleolithic styles are described so clearly and optimistically that the average non-knapper will probably conclude that he too could learn the art with a few hundred or a few thousand hours of practice. According to Mewhinney, the only really difficult feats of the ancient flakers were the production of the Solutrean ripple finish and the Folsom flutings, but these too can be learned by the devoted modern student. He also stresses an oft-overlooked fact that only a small minority of the points made by any one technique approach real artistry and hence are selected for display and illustration. He says run-of-the-mill production can easily be equalled or surpassed by the modern worker.

There is a chapter on the nature of flint, describing its characteristics, selection, and what can and cannot be done in flaking it. There follow several chapters on the application of these principles to the production of various types of artifacts, both percussion and pressure-finished. There are also chapters on making and using various tools and rests, in modern and ancient forms, by means of which the different products can be formed, as well as chapters on such special finishing processes as barbing and notching, producing the Solutrean ripple finish, the Folsom flute, and so forth.

Mewhinney has fun chiding anthropologists and others who write about flint-chipping without having any personal knowledge of the techniques, and who sometimes perpetuate myths about the techniques such as the utterly unfounded one that fire and water can be used to produce controlled chipping. However, he seems a bit uninformed, when he chastises the profession for using its collective head to the exclusion of its hands in assembling data and writing reports. It is true that not many of us can chip flint, but the author should go along on an archeological or ethnological field trip and see how many blisters, calluses, sore muscles, and assorted aches and pains are acquired in data gathering.

This is a delightful, and to the reviewer (who likes to use his hands), a fascinating book to read, and its contents can enliven almost anyone's lectures about Paleolithic stone work. Let us hope for a sequel on the techniques of the Sam Bass Garden Club.

The Horn and The Sword. JACK RANDOLPH CONRAD. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company Inc., 1957. 222 pp., drawings, 32 plates, appendices. $5.00.

Reviewed by WARREN L. D'AZEVEDO, *Northwestern University*

Many readers, like the reviewer, are bound to be carried beyond the first page of

any book which opens with such a statement as, "Man has been fighting bulls for at least fifty thousand years." It turned out to be a rewarding experience, and the author (presently teaching anthropology at Southwestern University) is to be commended for an engaging popularization of materials selected from his 1954 doctoral dissertation. He succeeds in communicating his personal fascination for the history of the bullfight, and provides some supporting evidence for his view that the modern Spanish *Fiesta de Toros* has its roots in ancient Iberian bull-fertility rites, and that a bull-god-king complex functioned in the ancient culture of Europe, North Africa, and the Near East, and extended into India during the Vedic period.

The herds of wild cattle hunted by Paleolithic man and which roamed the plains of Europe and the Levant (not becoming extinct until 1627) are the protagonists of this historical round-up. These powerful animals appear to have figured in the religions of many of the great cultures of antiquity. Represented as a dangerous contestant by Paleolithic hunters, the bull reappears in the symbolism of the Neolithic as a benefactor of man; his strength and fertility are ritually associated with the domestication of cattle and productivity of the soil. Striking parallels and relationships are suggested in the bull-worshipping aspects of the ancient religions of central Europe, Sumeria, India, Crete, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Iberia, indicating a possible circum-Mediterranean phenomenon of which remnants survive today in the bullfight ritual of Spain.

Though the author makes effective use of a small selection of historical and ethnographic sources in re-establishing a case for extensive early Egyptian impact upon the cultures of the Sudan, the reader may find this material painfully inadequate as support for numerous generalizations. It is stated, for example, that "the concept of the divine king . . . spread westward and is currently present even as far as the Guinea coast of Negro Africa," and there are occasional lapses into such hogwash as "Anthropologists consider Egyptian influence completely established in this area by the presence of numerous cultural items such as the West African version of the Egyptian harp." Furthermore, the hypothesis that Egyptian "cattle cults" influenced African cultures "from the White Nile to Tanganyika" and "from Rhodesia to Natal" begs for somewhat more substantive evidence than is presented.

The author is at his best in documenting the reinforcement of the prehistoric "bull-cults" of the Iberian peninsula by subsequent waves of cultural invasion. His presentation leaves little doubt that Cretan, Roman, Celtic, and Moorish contact occurred under the most favorable conditions in this regard, and that religious elements and ritual practices associated with wild and domestic cattle found their way into what is now the Spanish corrida. The later influence of Christian Rome is clearly defined as an henotheistic phenomenon whereby the "god" of an earlier religion becomes the demon of the new and—in the Spanish case—emerges eventually as a symbol of hated authority.

An impressive arrangement of data from fieldwork and other sources is brought to bear in support of the view that the modern Spanish bullfight is a symbolic drama in which basic social conflicts are resolved. The corrida is described as a means of expressing a repressed aggression toward authority which is manifested in the social relations defining its structure as well as in the Spanish family and society in general. It is unfortunate that the author allows his rather convincing argument to be observed by concluding with a universalistic interpretation. "Whether we know it or not," he writes, "our extreme reactions to the bullfight, be they for it or against it, are our reac-

tions toward the individual in a world of authoritarian restriction." This sort of psychology is intolerable if the author has intended to make a serious contribution.

Anthropologists will find this book entertaining and informative despite its shortcomings. In these days of the coded interdisciplinary memo, there is more than enough room for an occasional speculative and relaxed presentation of the results of a research enthusiasm. Nevertheless, there remains a hankering to see the author's dissertation (which is referred to in a note), and though he deplores its lack of "readability," there is a promise of an "exhaustive bibliography" whereby the reader may further explore a subject in which his interest has been aroused.

Indian Students on an American Campus. RICHARD D. LAMBERT and MARVIN BRESSLER Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956. xi, 122 pp., appendix. $3.00.

The American Experience of Swedish Students: Retrospect and Aftermath. FRANKLIN D. SCOTT. (Foreward by RALPH L. BEALS.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956. xiii, 129 pp. $3.00.

Reviewed by ERMINIE WHEELER-VOEGELIN, *Indiana University*

These two ably executed volumes represent some of the first results of the efforts made by the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Cross-Cultural Education to stimulate investigation of the reactions of foreign students to their American experience. Several other such volumes are either planned or are in press, or have been recently published. When complete, there will be studies of students from Sweden, India, Japan, and Mexico who have attended American universities and who are now back in their home country, and companion studies of students currently enrolled in American universities, from these same four countries.

The Swedish volume, by Franklin D. Scott, professor of history at Northwestern University and a specialist in Scandinavian studies, falls into the first category mentioned above. In order to make the study Scott went to Sweden, where he conducted many "open-ended" interviews both in Swedish and English, with fifty Swedes who had been selected from the hundreds who have studied in the United States, on the basis of criteria which he discusses in detail. Much can be learned from Scott's book about certain facets of Swedish culture which go far to explain the reactions of his subjects to related facets of American culture. A minor criticism in organization has to do with the placement of the chapter on "The Sample and the Evidence," which might better have been an appendix rather than Chapter 2. It is an excellent discussion of methods, but, placed as it is, it also serves as a distraction from the main objective of the book.

The Indian study, by Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler, sociologists at the University of Pennsylvania, is in the second category referred to above, and is a study of the reactions to their American experience of sixteen Indians, two Pakistani, and one Singhalese, all of whom were enrolled at the University of Pennsylvania. A study of Indians who had been abroad as students and who are now living in India is not contemplated by the Committee on Cross-Cultural Education, since such a study was made recently by John and Ruth Hill Useem for the Hazen Foundation, and is reported in their book *The Western-Educated Man in India* (New York, The Dryden Press, 1955).

Since both volumes hold a mirror up to American university life, they make interesting and enlightening reading for any member of the large American university family. For university faculties and administrators directly concerned with the foreign students on their campuses, such studies would seem to be a practical "must."

The Managed Casualty: The Japanese-American Family in World War II. LEONARD BROOM and JOHN I. KITSUSE. (University of California Publications in Culture and Society, Volume 6.) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956. vi, 226 pp., 1 figure, 10 maps, 10 charts. $4.50 (cloth), $3.50 (paper).

Reviewed by WILLIAM CAUDILL, *Harvard University*

This is a good addition to the substantial body of literature on the Japanese Americans. The monograph can be divided into two parts. The first three chapters (pp. 1–49) contain a summary of the social and cultural background of Japanese Americans, and of their evacuation from the West Coast and relocation during World War II. This material is interpreted in terms of the impact of these events on family groups, and such a focus is appropriate because of the central importance of the family in the organization of life in Japanese-American communities. The second part of the monograph (pp. 51–213) presents ten cases of representative Japanese-American families. The composition and history of each family is traced from their prewar adjustment through the process of evacuation and relocation and into the postwar situation. Data on each family are presented separately from the interpretation in order to facilitate use of the cases for other purposes by other scholars.

To read the opening chapters is to realize anew that the United States acted out of a sense of over-anxiety and hysteria in the evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast early in 1942. At the same time, in order to temper the effects of such an evacuation, the decision was made to "evacuate entire family units" and "to move communities together so far as this was possible." However, as the authors point out: "The evacuation of the family as a unit did not ensure its maintenance as an institution. (Even less did the evacuation of fragments of neighborhoods ensure the transfer to the centers of cohesive communities.)" In the relocation centers the traditional authority of the Issei parents was severely strained by such policy decisions as the exclusion of Issei from elective offices in the centers; payment of the same wages to the Issei and to their children; and the War Relocation Authority's intention "to create a community as nearly American in its outlook and organization as possible." The authors stress that under such circumstances, the maintenance of family solidarity and integration increasingly depended upon the family's ability to draw upon its affectional ties among members rather than on a reliance upon traditional structural bonds which were no longer supported by a community organization or by current realities.

A family's ability to use affectional ties as a defense against deterioration depended in large part upon its type of integration and stability under prewar conditions. And, as the authors say, "The cases presented show how variation in the structure, cohesiveness, and affectional and cultural characteristics of the family affected its adjustments to the demands imposed by administrative policies." The cases fulfill this purpose, although the facts in each case are given so compactly that the cultural and emotional conflicts that must have lain behind them often do not come through very sharply. The map and chart which accompany each case help in following the movements of various members over time, and in tracing the changing composition of the family.

H. M. Stanley: Unpublished Letters. ALBERT MAURICE. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1957. xvi, 183 pp., 2 illustrations, 12 plates, 2 maps. $7.50.

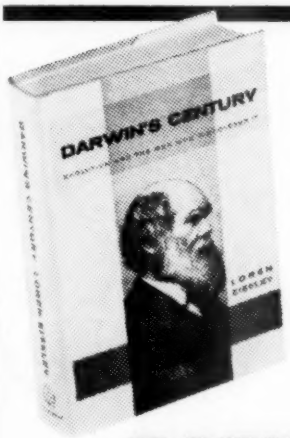
Reviewed by DONALD C. SIMMONS, *University of Connecticut*

This book, first published in French in 1955, presents the most important portions

of 43 missives selected from Stanley's previously unpublished Letter Book, which contains copies of 80 letters written in 1881–82 to King Leopold, the King's representative Strauch, and to various members of Stanley's Congo Expedition, when Stanley was employed by King Leopold to construct stations on the Upper Congo.

The letters forcefully reveal the explorer's tribulations with both European subordinates and natives, his skillful dealings with the latter (for Stanley never resorted to force unless attacked), his attempts to initiate commercial dealings, especially purchases of ivory, and his establishment of successive stations at Vivi, Isangila, Manyanga, Stanley Pool (Leopoldville), Mswata, and Kwa.

Maurice provides the historical background necessary to an understanding of the letters in three excellent chapters delineating germane events between the Geographical Conference of Brussels in 1876 and the 1885 Berlin Conference. In addition to an extensive bibliography, all recondite allusions in the letters are skillfully annotated. Maurice is to be congratulated not only for rescuing these letters from oblivion, but also for his historical and stylistic competence.



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Edited by FREDA WOLFSON. The Introduction to this work gives a concise history of the Gold Coast from its discovery in 1471 to the present and deals with the reliability of the few accounts written before the 20th century that survive. The bulk of the book consists of translations of some of these accounts and extracts from others. 9 plates. 4 maps. $4.80

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